1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE SURPRISE VALLEY PAIUTE

BY
ISABEL T. KELLY

The following report is based upon field work among the Northern Paiute or Paviotso of northeastern California during the summer of 1930. The investigation was financed jointly by the University of California and the Bureau of American Ethnology.

The names Paviotso, Paiute,[1] and Northern Paiute are used interchangeably in this report, and unless otherwise indicated, all statements apply specifically to one band of such Paiute known as the Gidü'tikad[2], or Groundhog-eaters. Some forty members of that band are now living at Fort Bidwell, Surprise valley, Modoc county, headquarters for the season's field work. As the result of a five-day visit[2] to the Klamath Indian reservation, some scanty material was obtained from members of a related band, formerly of Silver and Summer lakes, Oregon, but now living on that reservation near Beatty.

It seems likely that the account of material culture here contained is as complete as can be made at the present time, for there is little of the old life left. A few roots are dug in spring, and berries are gathered in the fall, but seed gathering and the old hunting methods have fallen into disuse. A few baskets, mediocre at best, are to be seen; some rather nice skin dressing is done; most infants are carried in cradles; but aside from this, statements by informants are the sole reliance. Little was obtained on political institutions, probably owing to paucity of development rather than to fragmentary information. Such is not the case with religion, which is still more or less flourishing. At least shamanistic cures are in vogue, and a number of the older people frequent the sweat-lodge upon occasion, there to pray to the sun. The meagerness of the data must be attributed to the very

[1] Not to be confused with the Southern Paiute who are also known in the literature as Paiute.

[2] At private expense, borne by myself and by Miss Elsie Kober, of Fort Bidwell.

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

TERRITORY[4]

101 131 The band of Northern Paiute known as the Gidü'tikad[5], or Groundhog-eaters, with whom this paper is primarily concerned, lived in the northeastern corner of California and adjacent parts of Oregon and Nevada, along the western fringe of the Great Basin. Their territory included the whole of Surprise valley and considerable of the hill country immediately to the east. Statements as to eastern extension are extremely vague, but their holdings included Coleman valley and probably Long valley, running well toward Summit lake in Nevada.

To the west Gidü'tikad[5] territory extended over Warner range to include the eastern shore of Goose lake, south as far as Buck creek. The Paviotso-Achomawi boundary fell somewhere between this point and Sugar hill, the latter being indisputably Achomawi ((Isi'sa'wi)) My informant claimed Fandango valley and Lassen creek for the Paiute but said that both they and the Achomawi used to fish in the last mentioned stream. Save for a slight overlap in the Fandango region, this statement is in substantial agreement with Kniffen,[6] who places the northernmost Achomawi village on Lawson (i.e., Lassen) creek. The Paiute regarded all this region west of the Warners merely as hunting province, thus, "We didn't own it; we just hunted there." Hunting parties crossed into the Goose Lake country via Bidwell canyon, coming out near the present town of New Pine Creek.

To the northwest were the Klamath (Modoc †), known as Pama'ha sai'ni[6], or, more commonly, Sai'ni, given once as Sa'ib[a]tikad[5], Tule-eaters. Pindy gave Pakwi'tikad[5], Trout-eaters, as the name for the Modoc; all other informants failed to distinguish between them and the Klamath. Pindy seems, however, to have reversed the two terms, agreeing with other informants that the "Klamath" hunted on the western shore of Goose lake and placing the Modoc in the Klamath marsh district, the heart of Klamath territory.[7] It seems likely, there-

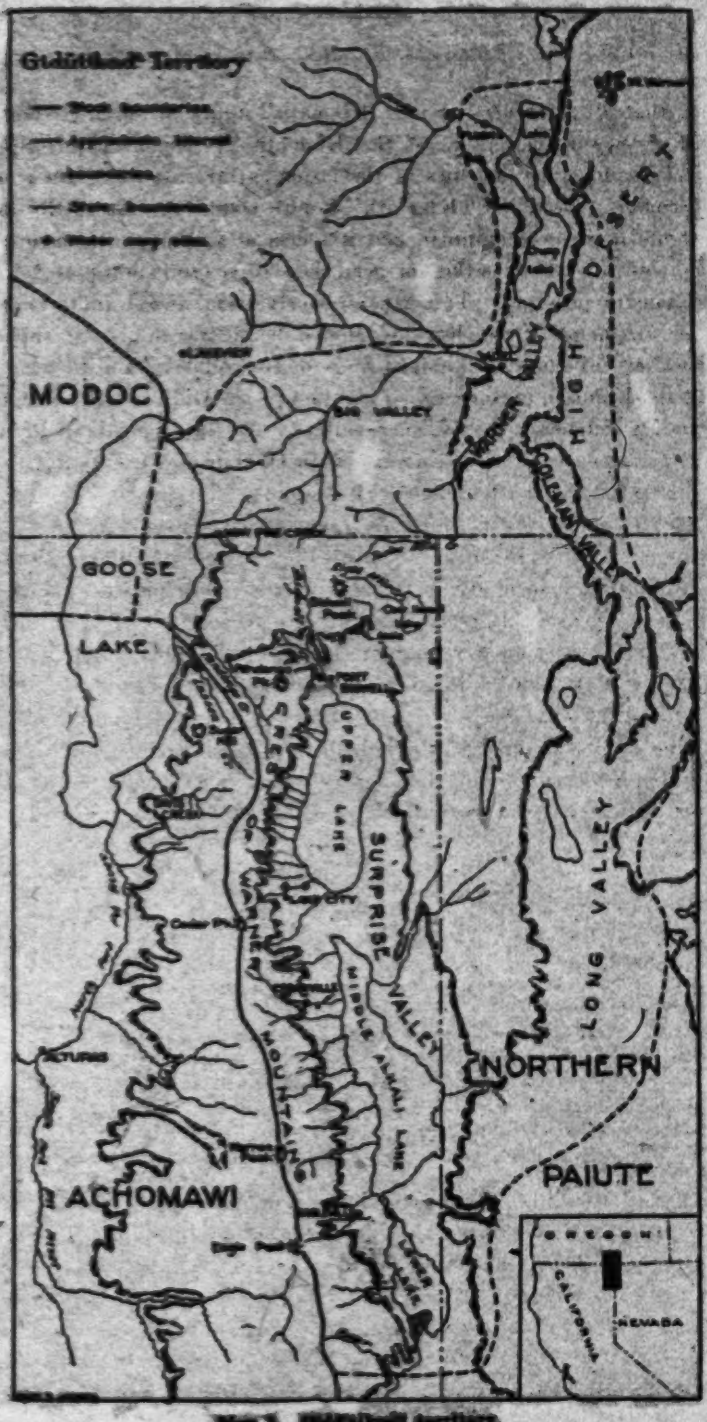
[4] The bulk of this material is based on information given by P and JB.

[5] P. 308 and map 2.

[6] This is said to be a name given by the Yainax Paiute, and hence recent. My informant was not certain, but suggested that it might be derived from pa'mihab, water grass.

[7] According to Spier, Klamath, 3 and figure 1. See Bibliography for complete citations.

101
131


Goldfield Territory
MODOC
GOOSE
LAKE
ACHOMAWI
NORTHERN
PAIUTE
SURPRISE VALLEY
LONG VALLEY
MIDDLE ALKALI LAKE
UPPER ALKALI LAKE
COPPER LAKE
HIGH DESERT
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
NEVADA

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

fore, that all references to the "Klamath" apply to the Modoc or to both groups rather than to the Klamath proper, although Spier reports summer settlements of the latter as far east as Sycan river. Informants placed the "Klamath"-Paiute boundary east of Bly and west of Gearheart mountain and it seems at this point to have run northwest, inasmuch as the northern shore of Goose lake was regarded as Klamath province. This northwesterly trend is substantiated by Spier's Klamath map, but his Modoc boundary might be shifted somewhat to include the eastern shore of Goose lake. Tradition has it that the Klamath once occupied all the present Gidü'tikad[a] territory, including Surprise and Warner valleys. At this time these Paiute were living east of Steens mountain, in Oregon, but eventually they drove out the Klamath and took possession.

To the north the Gidü'tikad[a] ranged more or less continuously through Adel and Plush in Warner valley, the northern extension of Surprise. They seem not to have wintered north of Plush, but in summer they probably reached the head of the valley. To the north, south, and east, they were bordered by other Paiute, although most of the country between Plush and Burns is said to have been alkali and uninhabited.

The names of some of the neighboring Paiute bands follow, but anything in the way of detailed geographical distribution is not feasible. Informants are unfamiliar with distant areas, especially to the east.

Dühü'teyatikad[a], Deer-eaters, Silver and Summer lakes, Oregon.

Go'ya'tikad[a], Crawfish(?)-eaters, Yainax and Beatty, Oregon. These Paiute were brought from Silver lake in recent times and the name is therefore post-reservation.

Wada'tikad[a], Wada'(seed)-eaters, Burns, Malheur district, Oregon; and Susanville, California.

Tübu'initikad[a], (?) Berry-eaters, east of Steens mountain, Oregon.

Kwi'nadüya[a], Kwi'nodub, Smoke (?) Indians, McDermitt, Nevada. The country north of McDermitt is said to have been uninhabited.

A'ga'itikad[a], Fish-eaters, Summit and Walker lakes, Nevada.

Kuyni'tikad[a], Sucker-eaters, Pyramid lake, Nixon, Nevada.

To'itikad[a], Cat-tail-eaters (from toib[a], cat-tail), Fallon and Yerington, Nevada.

My informant did not know the name of the band immediately to the south but stated that their headman was named Sa'ihida[a]. Similarly he gave Wobi'ñnünabügai as the chief of the Paisley Paiute but did not know the group designation. Paisley is known as So'ho. He stated definitely that two bands, those of Burns and Susanville, were known as Wada'tikad[a] and that the Walker and Summit lake bands,

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

although distinct, shared the same name. The Summit lake group bounded the Gidü'tikad[8] to the east.

Two subnames were recorded. One, Saib[a]tikad[a], Tule-eaters, applied to Adel in Warner valley. This name was given any persons camped there; in other words, it was associated with the site rather than with the people. The word, Saib[a]tikad[a], is apparently in accord with the Handbook[8] which gives the Saidyuka as a group of eastern Oregon. Loud[9] has it "sai", short for sai-duka'a, "tule eaters," a mythical people formerly living in various parts of Nevada." It should be noted that this is identical with two of the three versions for Klamath. The other subname is said to be of recent derivation. As the Bidwell Paiute were ridiculed by their neighbors for eating the flesh of animals dead from natural causes, they came to speak jestingly of the Cedarville and Eagleville groups as Itsü'natikad[a], they-eat-them-alive.

These band names must not be regarded as having serious economic significance. They are based, in fact, on natural resources rather than on staple foods and are certainly no more than convenient labels. For example, concerning the name given the Yainax Paiute, my informant said, "Go'ya'tikad[a] is a new name given since the Paiute were put on the Klamath reservation.[10] It is named after the crawfish (?). There are many there; I don't know if they ever eat them or not."

The only one of the above bands not named according to the "-tikad[a]" pattern is the McDermitt band. Informants could not explain this exception, nor could they give the exact meaning of the name. One translated it "Smoke Indians"; another said somewhat doubtfully, "It sounds like the word for smoke; I don't know why they call them that."

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[8] Handbook of American Indians, 1:932.

[9] Loud and Harrington, 152.

[10] Go'ya' is apparently a loan word as Spier, 15, notes a Klamath village called GoyEaka'Egis, crawfish crawl out. It seems plausible that crawfish, foreign to the old Paiute habitat, were designated by the Klamath term.

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORS

[101] 609 The Gidū'tikad[8] call themselves nūmū, persons, as do the Nevada Paviotso.[223] Most informants apply the term to related groups only, but by it Piudy designates all Indians in opposition to whites (taibu). Informants class neighboring groups linguistically, thus:

> The Bannock and Fort Hall (Idaho) are the same as the Paiute: they talk our language.[224] I am a Paiute; I am a Bannock; Bannock are Paiute. The Bishop (Inyo county) and Pyramid Lake Indians speak our language too but a little different. We are Paiute here, at Walker lake, at Klamath,[225] at Burns, and at Pyramid lake. Even the Umatilla are half Paiute.
>
> The Warm Springs and the Digger Indians (Maidu, Washo) are different too. The first time I saw a Washo I thought he was a Paiute, but he didn't understand what I said to him (JB).

With related bands the Gidū'tikad[8] were on the best of terms and a few individuals could visit a neighboring group with little hesitancy. Thus a camp of Gidū'tikad[8] would sometimes wander as far east as McDermitt and occasionally winter there. Also:

> Sometimes one or two Pyramid Lake and Nixon (Nevada) Paiute came here to hunt. We didn't object because they didn't come in bands (P).

Contacts with the Shoshone who "lived northeast of McDermitt, the other side of some mountain" seem to have been slight. Joshua had heard of Snake Indians "somewhere to the east" but had not seen any. The Bannock (Pana'k[8]), living "somewhere to the northeast in Idaho, the other side of Malheur," were known chiefly through the Burns Paviotso but also through occasional transients who did not winter in Gidū'tikad[8] territory. According to Piudy:

> The Bannock came here only once. When the Klamath and Warm Springs Indians were fighting us, we sent word north and many Bannock came and helped us.

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[223] Loud and Harrington, 152.

[224] This accords nicely with Kroeber's linguistic classification of Bannock. Bannock and Shoshoni Languages, 266.

[225] Doubtless Yainax, near Beatty, which is on the Klamath reservation.

NOTES ON THE NORTHERN PAIUTE OF CALIFORNIA,

By JAIME DE ANGULO AND L. S. FREELAND.

INTRODUCTION.

In the summer of 1926 I had occasion to stay for a few days [1] at Fort Bidwell, in the extreme northeastern corner of California, where a number of Indians, mostly "Paiutes" as they are called in those parts, are congregated around the Government Agency. The Agent, Mr. O. C. Gray who knows personally almost every individual of the tribes located in that part of the country and who is trusted by them, extended to me all possible courtesy and help, and through his efforts I was able to get in touch with some excellent informants who gave me what they could of their time after working hours and this without remuneration. During the day their wives when they were not cooking or otherwise engaged around the camp also helped me.

These men were Perry Parker and Bige Archie. Then too I met George Townsend, a very old man living in his shack at the "Indian Camp" on the outskirts of town. He claims 1840 as his birth-date. At any rate he was old enough to act as scout to General Crook. If it had been possible for me to remain there longer I could have obtained a great deal of very valuable information from this genial old fellow. As it was I had to limit my inquiries to certain questions of culture that interested me from the point of view of diffusion, especially in regard to the culture of the Californian Northeast, and more especially still in regard to the diffusion of culture traits from the Plains area into California. It seems to me more and more clear that Kroeber is quite right in claiming all the Interior Basin area for California [2], to form a culture province apart, with a

1. I should add however that in the last few year I have often come in contact with Paiutes living among the Pit River Indians.

2. For the latest expression of Dr. Kroeber's point of view see the recently published *Handbook of Indians of California*, Bureau of Amer. Ethn., Bul. 78, especially pp. 915, 916.

3: Angulo & Freeland D-5 (1926) 1929
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

typical focus of specialization in North-Central California. The rest of California would thus represent the under lying primitive layer *plus* the influences from this and from other outlying cultural foci insofar as they have penetrated any one geographical point. This is however not the place to develope this theory. Suffice it to allude to it in order to explain why in the short time at my disposal I limited myself to certain definite points which otherwise might seem to have been given undue importance. They are details that are significant for the delimitation of the spheres of cultural spread in this particular region.

In regard to the language I could obtain only a general impression of the morphology, and a fairly sufficient semasiology, sufficient that is for purposes of comparison. Altogether, the material here presented is scanty both as regards ethnology and language. It may prove of value however, since so little has been published on this people[1].

I will point out in this paper the differences or similitaries between the culture of the Paiutes and that of the Pit Rivers, with whom I am well acquainted. I would have liked to do the same in regard to the Klamath-Modocs. I have however but a very insecure knowledge of this people, and inasmuch as Dr. Leslie Spier is at present engaged on a thorough study of that tribe which he intends to publish in the near future there would be no excuse for inaccurate or dubious statements in this case. I am glad to be able to say however that in private conversations Dr. Spier has given me the support of his opinion.

ETHNOLOGY.

ETHNO-GEOGRAPHY.

The people here dealt with occupy the basin lying immediately to the east of the Warner Range and known as Surprise Valley.

This range acts as a definite and well marked barrier between them and the Pit River Indians. To the north and to the south the range gra-

1. For the ethnology of these people, see Robert H. Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography*, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, New York. 1924, which contains a complete bibliography to date. On the linguistic side there is practically nothing to cite (for a study of morphological features), except four studies by A. L. Kroeber:

The Shoshonean Dialects of California, University of California Publications, Vol. 4, No. 3, 1907.

Notes on Shoshonean Dialects of Southern California, *Ibid.* Vol. 8, No. 5, 1909.

Notes on the Ute Language, American Anthropologist, Vol. 10. No. 1. 1908.

The Bannock and Shoshoni Languages, *Ibid.* Vol. 11, No. 2, 1909.

3: Angulo & Freeland D-5 (1926) 1929
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

To the north and to the South the range gra-
dually diminishes, and there the boundaries between the territories claimed by the Paiutes and those claimed by their neighbors are rather indefinite. It is probable that to the south they were separated from the Amitsi (« Dixie Valley ») branch of the Pit Rivers by the desert-like Madeline Plains. This must have been « neutral » ground, visited by both tribes for hunting and root-digging in times of peace, shunned by both in times of quarrel. Such quarrels were frequent between the Pit Rivers and the Paiutes, just as they were frequent between the different groups of the Pit Rivers among themselves. In the latter case the Pits did no scruple to use the help of the different Paiute bands. There must have been a certain amount of traditional enmity between Pits and Paiutes, but not so much as has been currently said. Certain it is that intermarriage was frequent. I have often been told by members of both tribes that after a war they took women and children as captives home. They would marry the women, and the children *were allowed to return to their own people when they were grown up*, but many of them them preferred to stay. This is an important factor for the spread of culture. Another instance of the kind of relation that existed between these two tribes (which are supposed to have belonged to two entirely separate cultures, Shoshonean and Californian) is the well known fact that Jack Williams' father and his two brothers, who were powerful chiefs among the Hammawi group of the Pit Rivers, owed their ascendency partly to the fact that they were related through their mother to the celebrated Paiute chief Winnemucca and therefore wielded a good deal of influence among the Paiutes.

At the northern end of the Warner Range the Paiutes could reach through more or less hilly country the shores of Goose Lake. They do not seem to have had any very permanent settlements there, although the eastern shore of the lake was certainly their ground as far south as Lassen Creek (just north of Davis Creek). South of this was Pit River territory (Qosaleqtawi group). In this vicinity is Sugar Hill, with its "mine" of obsidian. Evidently this particular spot was a bone of contention between the two tribes. The western shore of the lake appears strangely enough to have been unoccupied. Probably the three tribes, Modocs, Pits and Paiutes, all of them felt that it was too far removed from their own centers, and therefore too much exposed in times of war. Anyway the Paiutes seem to have considered the basin east of Warner Range as their proper home, and the northern end of the eastern side of Goose lake as their hunting and fishing ground merely.

Again, when leaving the properly Paiute territory, traveling to the northwest, one has to cross many miles of bad lands and lava beds before

3: Angulo & Freeland D-5 (1926) 1929
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

133 falling into the head waters of the Sprague River where Klamath-Modoc territory begins. All this stretch of rocky, barren country acted probably as another ill-defined boundary between Paiutes and Modocs.

101 To the north and to the east generally there was a continuity of habi-
619 tat and speech between this particular band of Paiutes and other Paiute bands (Burns, Pyramid Lake, etc.).

These people call themselves *neim·ī* (e. g. *nī neim·ī non·o* = I Paiute man [I am a Paiute]). They apply this term to all the people who speak
[197] their language, or any language that appears to them similar, for instance the Bannock, the Shoshoni, and even the Utes. None of my informants was acquainted with either one of the terms Paviotso or Mono.

Here are the names by which they designate neighbouring groups of Paiutes :

Burns Agency	*sa'iBī*
Silver Lake	*Toba'TeP·i*
Duck Lake	*TiBī'san·in·a*

Names of other tribes of alien speech :

Pit River	*esi'sawi*
Klamath	*Pakwi Dīqa*
Modoc	*sai'i Dīqa*
Maidu	*TaKone*
Warm Spring Indians	*aga'Tse*
White man	*TaiBo'o*

621 They recognize several local bands or sub-bands among themselves, as follows :

Fort Bidwell	*Tīziyamoso*
Lake City	*Pana'DzaTa*
Cedarville	*azawomoTaTya*
Eagleville	*Pībī-Kan·o* ("duck-hunters")

361 They evidently congregated at certain "winter-grounds" and there
821 built their more or less permanent winter-houses, after roaming and moving camp throughout the country in summer time, which is also the practice of their Pit River neighbours.

Their chiefs do not seem to have wielded much power except when
622 they happened to be born leaders with strong personalities. This is also the case with the Pit Rivers except that the Pit Rivers have a strong feeling for lineage : a weak man, however much the son of a chief, is neither respected nor listened to, but the converse does not obtain, and a

CULTURE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTIONS: XIV
NORTHERN PAIUTE

BY

OMER C. STEWART

INTRODUCTION

121 This study is intended to show the presence or absence of certain elements of culture in representative bands of the Northern Paiute.[1,2] Information from two neighboring peoples, the Achomawi 101 and the Washo, is also included for the purpose 131 of comparison. The Northern Paiute of Owens Valley are not included because of Steward's studies of them.[3] Although some of the groups included here—notably the Hunipui, Walpapi, Wada, Yahuskin, Koa'agai, and Tagö—have been called Snake and Bannock and have had a "Plains type" of culture attributed to them, conclusive evidence is now on record to show that these bands are typically Northern Paiute.[4]

133 The habitat of the Northern Paiute is uniformly desert, being modified somewhat by streams carrying water into the area from the Sierra Nevada, Cascade, Teton, and Blue mountains. Their territory is shaped roughly like an isosceles triangle with its point at Owens Lake, California, and its 275-mile base at Blue Mountains in Oregon, about 600 miles to the north. With the exception of part of the arid plateau in the north, all the area lies within the Basin-Range physiographic province; in fact, the western edge of the Great Basin is approximately coterminous with the Northern Paiute western boundary. Even closer 137 is the coincidence of the western or northern tribal boundary and the edges of the desert sagebrush vegetation zone. The valley flora is dominated by sagebrush, shadscale, and greasewood. The ranges are generally placed in the "Piñon-Juniper Zone,"[5] but the piñon, found sporadically on the Nevada ranges, is absent from Idaho and 136 Oregon. Antelope, deer, and mountain sheep are fairly common throughout the area, although jack rabbit, ground squirrel, and other small game were certainly the chief source of meat. Contrary

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[1] The typewriting and drafting for this manuscript in preparation for publication was done by personnel of Works Progress Administration, Official Project 665-08-3-30, Unit A-15.

[2] Phonetic key.—ö, "mute" e as in French je, le; ü, pronounced much as the u in German kühl or French lune; u, as in German gut; e, as in French été; i, as in French fini; a, as in English far; g, a velar sonant g accompanied by a uvular vibration; r, pronounced as French uvular r; ', glottal stop; v, bilabial v, as in Spanish; ą, nasal as in French. Other letters pronounced as in English.

[3] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XII—Nevada Shoshoni. AR 4: 209-359, 1941.

[4] Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands. AR 2: 127-149, 1939.

[5] Shantz, 21, and map. [P.361(A)]

124 one informant in order to get information about
115 certain aspects of culture. When one informant
supplied the data or when several agreed, no in-
[128] dication is made in the list. An asterisk beside
the plus or minus indicates a note when disparate
information was received. The entry in the col-
umn is what I considered the most correct answer
when informants disagreed.

Definite detailed information concerning certain complexes was difficult to get. For example, even the best informants were unable to give consistent and clear answers to queries about house types, dress, property, net manufacture, and techniques in basket weaving. With respect to the first three, difficulties appeared to be due to a lack of fixed styles within a band. With respect to the last two, lack of personal experience seems to be the explanation.

127 While arranging the list for publication, I
114 consulted the available literature dealing with
Northern Paiute culture. Whenever published information disagrees with that in the list, an asterisk is placed in the column to indicate a note concerning the element. Some confirmatory information from earlier sources is contained in the notes (also indicated by asterisk in list). The references to published sources are intended to serve as a guide to other, often fuller, de-

BANDS AND INFORMANTS

101 1, Ts,' Tasigat-tuvimarai, "between dwellers,"
131 occupied Winnemucca and Spanish Spring valleys
NE of Reno, Nevada, and small section of Truckee River E of Reno.

115 Informant.—Nick Downington, or Tush Nick ("Little Nick") (indicated as ND), age ca. 86, born at Doyle, California. His father was from Winnemucca Valley and his mother from Honey Lake, California, Wada territory. ND spent a considerable part of his life at Honey Lake, but in 1936 lived with his son-in-law, Harry Sampson, at the Indian Colony near Reno. In spite of his age, ND was extremely active physically and mentally, had good eyesight, but defective hearing. Although he understood English fairly well and could speak it sufficiently to explain almost everything, his faulty hearing made work without an interpreter difficult. ND was one of the best-informed Indians I met all summer and seemed to know about all phases of Paiute culture. His knowledge of birds and mammals, manifested by identifying and naming them from pictures, was astonishing. Also extensive was his knowledge of band areas and former band captains, for he gave information about all bands from Owens Lake to Oregon. A tireless worker, he seemed to tell all he knew, which was probably due in part to his previous experience as informant for Dr. Willard

'The numbers indicate the order in which lists were recorded (see map). The band abbreviations, like Ts, correspond with the headings of columns in the element list.

[p.362(A)]

127
114

scriptions of data here skeletonized, as a check on information which could not be checked sufficiently in the field, and as a guide to illustrations. Of special value is the comparison of this material with that contained in Kelly's excellent monograph. Most of my data corroborate Kelly's, and disagreements occur usually in connection with traits for which she received con-

128

flicting accounts. Where published information refers to a single band, the abbreviation for that band name is given in the note. Thus: 2721a. Ki: +, Kelly, 152, means that Kelly has reported the presence among the Kidü-dokadö of trait number 2721a.

131
101

Since the Northern Paiute area extends far beyond that originally assigned to the Paviotso by Powell (who described only the Northern Paiute of west-central Nevada, especially the Agai, Kuyui, and Toe), since all the Indians of this area from Blue Mountain, Oregon, to Owens Lake, California, now call themselves Paiute, and since the Indian Service officials and other white people in the area know these Indians as Paiute, I have confined myself to the term Northern Paiute rather than Paviotso. When, however, references cited indicated the trait as common to the Paviotso, I have noted that fact in the Ethnographic Notes section.

BANDS AND INFORMANTS

115

Park. I spent seven days in the Reno Indian Colony. Each morning I worked with ND as long as my throat would stand the required shouting, and each evening Harry Sampson, aged 43, acted as interpreter for three or four hours. Sampson was a good interpreter and interested in "old Indian ways" in spite of being the player-conductor of a jazz band. He attended Carson Indian School from 1898 to 1913. No one else at the Reno Colony seemed willing or able to give much information, although I attempted to talk with several, including Harry Stevens, Ben Rae, Tom Davis, and Nellie Hinckley.

101
131

2, Ki, Kuyui-dokadö, "Chanistes cujus eaters," lived on the shores of lower Truckee River and Pyramid and Winnemucca lakes. Much of their original territory is now included in Pyramid Lake Reservation, administrative center for which is Nixon, Nevada.

115

Informants.—Dave Gibson (né Mahwee), or Dabidna (DG), age ca. 75, born on Virginia Mountain during a piñon-nut season. His mother was a Tasiget from Winnemucca Valley and his father was a Kuyui. Lived most of his life at Nixon, in school there from 1879 to 1887; spent two years, 1887-1889, at the government school at Grand Junction, Colorado. Being a reliable and willing worker he has had many positions with Reservation administrators and in 1936 had a contract to transport the mail to and from the railroad. When visited he lived with his son at Nixon. DG's sight and hearing were fairly good, but he was rather

lethargic. He was less informed than ND and volunteered little except upon direct question. Although he also worked with Park, he seemed inclined to give an answer whether or not he was sure. Because his mail route required half of each day, I used his brother, Dick Mahwee, when he (DG) was not available, thereby obtaining a duplicate list (K2 in list).

3, K2, Kuyui-dökadö.

Informants.—Dick Mahwee (DM), age 59, born at Honey Lake; DG's younger brother. Except for visits to Virginia City and Reno, he lived at Nixon most of his life. Waterman,* who took DM in 1910 to San Francisco to use him in linguistic work, said DM spent his childhood in Long Valley near Honey Lake. When interviewed he was nearly blind, but was otherwise in good health. Having been a "singing doctor" for 20 years and "dance captain" at times, DM was an excellent informant for certain phases of culture.* For material culture his knowledge seemed reliable, but he refused to say anything about childbirth, puberty, and the like, professing complete ignorance. DM spent only four years in school, leaving in 1888. He spoke fair English. I worked with both him and his brother (DG) without interpreters. Ten days were spent in Nixon, slightly more time with DG than with DM.

Additional ethnogeographical data were obtained from Jane Holbrook, Kuyui, and Hattie Whitehead, Kamö. There were several other informants at Nixon who possibly could have given valuable information.

4, Kü, Küpa-dökadö, "ground-squirrel eaters," lived on the lower Humboldt River and near Humboldt Sink. In 1936 several lived in the Indian Colony at Lovelock, Nevada.

Informants.—Gilbert Natchez (GN), age ca. 54, born at Brown's Station, 20 miles SW of Lovelock, Nevada. Both his parents were Küpa. GN lived about 36 years at Nixon, but learned of "old Indian ways" from his mother and grandmother. He lived at Lovelock in 1936. He fell off a train when a young man, which left him badly crippled. His sight and hearing were good. He was forced to remain much of the time at home, which, he said, was spent in talking old Paiute lore. I was impressed by his breadth of knowledge and by his ability to express himself. His lack of personal experience with aboriginal culture limited his knowledge; notwithstanding, he surpassed anyone else I found at Lovelock. He was taken to San Francisco and used as a linguistic informant by A. L. Kroeber. He proved very apt and was kept three months. He learned to write his language in phonetic script and he has a paper published under his name.[10] He also supplied the culture data recorded by Loud.[11] I worked with GN four days.

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*UC-PAAE 10:13-44, 1911.

*ada (crow) is DM's power.

[10]"Northern Paiute Verbs. UC-PAAE 20:254-259, 1923.

[11]Lovelock Cave. UC-PAAE 25:1-183, 1929.

[P.363 (A)]

115 Skinny Dave, or Parviano, the "Kūpa chief," proved to be an unsatisfactory informant. He had unlimited self esteem, but very meager knowledge.

Annie Lowry (AL), age 69, half-breed Kūpa, has lived always at Lovelock. She was one of Lowie's informants for myths and had a ready answer for most questions. I asked her particularly about traits concerning women. She had lived too much with white people to be extremely well informed, and some of her information was obviously colored by European concepts.

101 131 5, To, Toe-dökadö, "tule eaters," possessed Carson Sink, Carson Lake, and lower Carson River; now found on Stillwater Reservation and at Fallon, Nevada, Indian Colony.

115 Informants.—Bob Springer (BS), age ca. 70, born at Stillwater and always lived there. Parents were Toe. He seemed very active and his sight and hearing were unimpaired, but he was not a willing worker. Although Lowie had used him, he refused to do systematic work with me. He seemed to know sufficient English to be a good informant without an interpreter. I spent four or five hours with him.

Little Pete, or Kupida (LP), age ca. 70, has always lived at Stillwater, as had his parents. LP could hear and see sufficiently, but his English was limited. His knowledge of aboriginal conditions was certainly not the best. He was aided by his wife (a Toe), who also acted as interpreter. About twenty hours were spent with them.

101 131 6, Tö, Tövusi-dökadö, "grass-nut eaters," in Smith and Mason valleys and upper Walker River in SW Nevada.

115 Informants.—Maggie Wright, or Tugövino (MW), age ca. 75, born at Wellington in Smith Valley. Both parents Tövusi. MW's hearing, sight, and memory were good. She had lived much of the old culture and also had heard about it, and was well informed, but needed an interpreter.

Goggles Wright, or Povawotso (GW), age ca. 85, born near site of Fort Churchill; MW's husband. Father was Agai, mother was Wada of Honey Lake, but GW had lived most of his life at Smith Valley, where he had been a famous hunter. In spite of his age, his sight, hearing, and memory seemed good, and he was willing to tell all he knew. His knowledge supplemented MW's, and their information is combined in the element list. He also needed an interpreter.

Interpreter.—John Wright, age 39, son of MW and GW. John had traveled considerably, having been two or three years in Oklahoma and more than a year at Fort Hall, Idaho. He lauded the Peyote cult as the "Indian New Deal," but, although he desired to, he could not start it at Stillwater, because he did not have a drummer and the fire. Of all the Indians I met the Wright family seemed to be the most active participants in the old Paiute culture. They had just moved their house [768] and taken up new land because of a death on the previously occupied farm. Old Paiute superstitions and charms were carefully observed. The family lived at Stillwater. I spent three days with them.

[F-263 (R)]

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

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7, Pa, Pakwi-dökadö, "chub eaters," on the S shores of Walker Lake, in Soda Spring Valley, and at Hawthorne, Nevada.

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Informant.—Dan Voorhees (DV), age 66, born at Hawthorne. Father was Toe; mother "half Pakwi, half Kutsavi" (Mono Lake). Until DV was 30, he had lived at Hawthorne, then he moved to Schurz, Nevada (Walker River Reservation), where he was Indian policeman until 1935. His sight, hearing, and memory were good and he reads and writes English well. Although he seemed well informed, his information was probably equally true for the Agai (north Walker Lake) as for the Pakwi. He had acted as informant for Dr. C. Hart Merriam. He is the most Europeanized Indian I met. My attempts to interview other Indians at Schurz were fruitless.

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8, Wa, Washo (non-Paiute). Washo territory was mostly in the Sierra Nevada Mountains surrounding Lake Tahoe. The valleys just at the eastern foot of the mountains—Truckee Meadows, Washo Lake Valley, Carson Valley, and others—served as winter homes. The territory extended from the southwestern shores of Honey Lake in the N to the North Fork of Walker River in the S. Gardnerville, Carson City, and Reno, in Nevada, are the present Washo centers.

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Informants.—Charlie Rube, age 76, born near Coleville, California, at the extreme S end of Washo territory; both parents Washo. He lived winters near Minden, Nevada, for many years, spending summers near Bijou, California, on the S end of Lake Tahoe, where I found him. Charlie's faculties seemed normal, but his knowledge of English and of Washo culture was limited.

Susie Rube, age ca. 65, Charlie's wife, acted both as informant and interpreter for Charlie, although she steadfastly refused to talk openly to me. Two other old Washo women "unofficially" participated and on many points the women reached a joint decision before giving me an answer. During the four-day interview, the three old women did not let their conversation interfere with their basketmaking.

Dick Bender, 76 years old; Indian policeman at Carson City for thirty-six years (until he went blind in 1930). Dick was used especially for ethnogeographic data. He lived at Carson.

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9, At, Atsa'kudökwa-tuviwarai, "red-butte dwellers," possessed the Quinn River drainage in northern Nevada; live now on the McDermitt Reservation in the same area.

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Informants.—Pete Snap, or Nino'o (PS), aged ca. 60, half-breed, born at McDermitt. Mother an Atsa; during PS's youth she lived with her parents. PS lived most of his life at McDermitt, where I found him. Physically, he was sound in all respects. Although born after the establishment of Fort McDermitt, PS's family continued their nomadic life until he was about 14, so that he actually experienced much of the old culture. In fact, I consider my Atsa list one of the three best. PS was willing to tell all he knew and he had a very adequate command of English. I spent

115 about thirty hours with him. I believe valuable returns would be had from spending more time at McDermitt.

Emma Crutcher and Race Horse Bob, both of McDermitt, were interviewed, but they knew much less than PS.

101 131 10, Sa, Sawa'wuktödö-tuviwarai, "sagebrush-mountain dwellers"; lived along the middle Humboldt River near the present town of Winnemucca, Nevada, where they still have a rather large colony.

115 Informants.—Sam Louie, or Tsa'kwöda (SL), age ca. 70; both parents Sawa. SL has lived at Winnemucca since his birth. He had good eyesight and hearing. His knowledge and his understanding of English were limited, although I worked with him without an interpreter.

Jack Miller, or Tupinatsi (JM), age ca. 75, born at Winnemucca; both parents Sawa. JM received a pension from the War Department in recognition for services rendered as a scout for Captain Wagner during the Bannock Indian War. His hearing was very impaired, yet I could shout loud enough to make him understand. His sight was good. He seemed a little better informed about "old ways" than was SL; they were interviewed together and discussed doubtful traits. JM spoke good English, and interpreted some for SL. I consider the Sawa list one of my least reliable; thirty hours were spent with them.

101 131 11, Tg, Tagö-töka, on Owyhee River in the SW corner of Idaho and the SE corner of Oregon; are now at Duck Valley Reservation.

115 Informants.—Dick Stanley (DS), age ca. 85, born along Owyhee River near Jordan Valley, not far from Silver City, Idaho. He grew to manhood on the Malheur Reservation, but was exiled to Yakima Reservation for participating in the Bannock War. After five years he was allowed to return to Tagö territory. He married at Yakima. DS lived at Owyhee for fifty years. He was nearly blind and was a little hard of hearing, but his memory was still good. Almost any question would start his talking at great length. Unfortunately he knew little English and my interpreter had difficulty getting detailed information when DS wanted to recall past exploits. He probably knew about the old culture better than appeared to me. I interviewed him about thirty hours.

Taviyoni'i, DS's wife, age ca. 80. Her parents belonged to the Koa'agai band of Paiute who had lived along Snake River near Bruneau and Boise, Idaho. She listened to the interviews [124] and often made remarks about questions. The interpreter appeared to pay little attention to her, but I could never be sure whether DS or his wife supplied the information I received.

Anne Winnemucca, past 90 years old, supplemented information on chiefs and areas of old bands, but was too feeble for intensive questioning.

Interpreter.—Mrs. Jessie Little, age ca. 40, half-breed. Her command of English was fair, but her backwardness in guiding the discussion along

115 the lines of inquiry of the investigation, together with her inadequate translation of information volunteered by the informant in addition to that dealing with the topic under discussion, detracted from her value as an interpreter.

101 12, Wd, Wada-dökadö, "wada-seed eaters," centering near Malheur Lake, Oregon. The area
131 claimed by this band extended N to the headwaters of Silver River and E to include most of Malheur River. They formed the largest band on the old Malheur Reservation, which was taken from them after the Bannock War. At present they are located in the Indian Colony at Burns, Oregon.

115 Informants.—Scarface Charlie, or Tokwa'nogit (SC), age ca. 69, born near Crane, Oregon; parents were Wada. SC lived at Burns all his life, visiting Warm Springs Reservation from time to time. He went blind a few years ago, but his hear-
[124] ing was good, and he was alert mentally. I talked with him without an interpreter, but it was difficult at times to make him understand what information I desired. He seemed better able to speak English than to understand it. He insisted he lacked information concerning much of the culture.

Blind Jim, or Tongio (BJ), age 76, born at Anderson Valley, SE of Burns; parents Wada. Except a few years spent at Fort Bidwell, he lived at Burns all his life. Blind since the age of 15, he lacked knowledge of certain features of the culture about which even much younger Indians knew. I used an interpreter with him, checking elements not known by SC, or about which there was doubt. Two or three young women acted as interpreters at separate times; none was very good. Dissension between strongly Roman Catholic and "heathen" Indians, and general dislike for white people, combined to make ethnographic work at Burns unpleasant and difficult. When the old Indians knew about the aboriginal culture, such knowledge was difficult to obtain because of their reluctance to talk or to interpret. About thirty hours were spent with SC and this informant.

In addition, Jack Hoodie, age 56, of the Hunipui-dökadö band; Pete Temens, about 65, a Tagö Indian, in 1936 "chief" at Burns; and several others were questioned but refused to give extended interviews. Miss Beatrice Blythe (Mrs. Frank Whiting), from Yale University, was in Burns laboring under these very unfavorable conditions to make a detailed ethnographic study.

[p. 365 (A)]

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Achomawi NS5

N 101 131 13, Ki, Kidü-dökadö, "woodchuck eaters," occupying Surprise Valley, California, and adjacent territory in southern Oregon and northwestern Nevada, were interviewed at Fort Bidwell, California.

N 115 Informants.—Bob Anderson (BA), age ca. 80, born near Gold Mountain; parents Kidü. BA started acting as interpreter and scout for General Crook and later worked in this capacity two years at Fort Harney, Oregon, and six years at Yainax on the Klamath Reservation. He lived at Fort Bidwell forty years. He was nearly blind.

Charlie Washo (CW), age ca. 75, born in Surprise Valley; present "chief"; parents Kidü. CW lived alternately in Susanville and Surprise Valley; was nearly deaf.

Key Henderson (KH), age 66, born near Warner; parents Kidü. KH spent life in Warner and Surprise Valley.

Joshua Brown (JB), age ca. 75, born at Surprise Valley; blind for many years; parents Kidü.

The first three informants combined their resources to tell as much of the old life as they knew; JB, better informed than the others, supplemented their knowledge, but he was too ill to work with me for long periods. Kelly used all except Key Henderson for her monograph on the Surprise Valley Paiute, rating JB "excellent." Although informants told all they knew willingly, circumstances were far from satisfactory in obtaining completely reliable information. Twenty-eight hours were spent with informants.

A 101 131 14, AE, Achomawi (non-Paiute). Claiming the western slopes of Warner Range, the Achomawi were neighbors of the Kidü Paiute. Their principal area consists of the upper Pit River drainage, and there is still a rather larger colony in the vicinity of Alturas, California.

A 115 Informants.—Sam Fox (SF), aged ca. 80, born and reared near Likely, California; parents both of the Likely band of Achomawi. SF's sight and hearing were still good, and in spite of extremely poor health he was mentally very alert and willing to tell of old culture. His understanding and use of English were good.

Lily Chip (LC), about 60, SF's niece, born near Likely; could supplement SF's knowledge about such things as childbirth, girl's puberty, and other topics. I consider the Achomawi list among the best recorded: twenty-four hours were spent with informants.

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[1] UC-PAAE 31:69, 1932.

[p. 365 (B)]

5: Park E-5 (1935) 1934
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

PAVIOTSO SHAMANISM

By WILLARD Z. PARK

INTRODUCTION

THE information for the present paper was collected in the course of a field trip to the Nevada Paviotso in the summer of 1933. The reservations at Pyramid lake and Walker lake were visited as well as the Paviotso settlements at Reno, Fallon, and Yerington.

In pre-Columbian days the Paviotso occupied almost the entire northwestern part of Nevada. A closely affiliated band was in Long valley and Honey Lake valley of California. This band ranged from the eastern shores of Honey lake to Pyramid lake in Nevada. Today many of them live on the reservation at Pyramid lake or in the Indian colony at Reno.

Before their confinement to the reservations, the Paviotso or Northern Paiute lived a semi-nomadic life. Fishing in Walker lake and Pyramid lake and the taking of fish from the Truckee and Walker rivers during the spawning season provided an important share of their diet. In the spring and summer the women ranged over the semi-arid hills and valleys of their habitat, gathering wild seeds and roots while the men hunted deer, antelope, rabbits and other game, or fished. In the fall the entire population moved up into the mountains for the pinenut harvest. When winter set in they settled on the shores of the lakes and along the river banks. It was during this season that the Paviotso were most sedentary. The women stayed in camp and the men hunted not more than a days journey from their winter quarters. Throughout most of the year these people ranged over the country in small groups of one or two families. They came together in large bands only for communal undertakings such as the rabbit or antelope drive or a concentrated attack on their traditional enemies, the Pitt river Indians. The big festival dances held in the spring and fall and religious dances held at the call of a messiah of the Ghost dance movements would also bring large numbers together for a short time. Shamanistic treatment of the sick would attract all the people from camps within an easy journey to the sick man's house.

Many of the old religious beliefs and practices flourish today among the Paviotso in Nevada. Shamans continue to treat the sick and those suffering from gunshot wounds. Murders motivated by a suspicion of witchcraft have occurred within the last few years. There is a feeling among most of the Paviotso, however, that shamans are no longer as powerful as they were in the old days. Many informants expressed a strong opinion that Jack Wilson, or Wovoka, the messiah of the 1890 Ghost dance movement, was the last powerful shaman. The failure of the shaman's powers

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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THE NORTHERN PAIUTE OF CENTRAL OREGON: A CHAPTER IN TREATY-MAKING[1]

Part 1

Erminie Wheeler Voegelin
Indiana University

101 ● 648

For several decades two so-called "Snake"[2] groups, the Yahuskin and Walpapi, have been accepted by ethnographers as two Northern Paiute-speaking bands which existed in aboriginal times and were located in definable areas within what is now central Oregon.[3] This acceptance and localization of the Yahuskin and Walpapi[4] has rested on the fact that two treaties were made by the United States in 1864 and 1865,[5] respectively, with the "Ya-hoos-kin Band of Snake Indians" and the "Woll-pah-pe Tribe of Snake Indians", and that both "Yahooskins" and "Wollpahpees" are mentioned in Bureau of Indian Affairs reports and correspondence for several years after the treaties had been negotiated. Analysis of heretofore unused documentary material shows, however, that neither one of these two so-called bands of Snake Indians had any aboriginal validity as definitely localized, organized groups. The treaty-signing Yahuskin of 1864 consisted of a score or so of Great Basin Northern Paiute, deriving at that specific date from the Surprise Valley-Warner Valley region in northeastern California and south-central Oregon. They

[text continues on page 97]

did not derive, at the time they signed the treaty, from the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region of central Oregon, although this latter region is the one they presumably ceded, and the one customarily assigned to them by ethnographers. The post-treaty, Klamath Reservation Yahuskin of Klamath Agency records were not Great Basin Paiute, but a small Klamath-speaking group which has been virtually unnoticed up to now, but which, in pre- and post-treaty times, occupied a strategic borderline position in upper Sprague River Valley between the Klamath Marsh-Upper Klamath Lake Klamath Indians to the west and the Great Basin Northern Paiute-speaking peoples to the east.[6] The treaty-signing Walpapi of 1865 were a mounted, predatory, fluctuating group of Great Basin Northern Paiute and other Indians who ranged throughout central Oregon from ca. 1859 to 1867 under Panaĥa (vars., Paulina, Pahnine, Polini, etc.),[7] an extremely able Northern Paiute post-White war leader. The Walpapi were not localized in a large, heart-shaped area extending from Burns, Ore., to some forty miles north of Canyon City, Ore., although this is the area they ceded. The post-treaty, Klamath Reservation Walpapi of Klamath Agency records consisted of something over a hundred Northern Paiute Indians who, in 1867 and 1868 moved or were removed from the Silver-Summer lakes region at the western edge of the Great Basin to upper Sprague River Valley on the Klamath Reservation; their removal to the Reservation occurred some three years after the Walpapi treaty of 1865 had been negotiated.

The confusion worse confounded that has existed from 1864 on in Bureau of Indian Affairs documents and the ethnographic literature, regarding the identity and provenience of the Yahuskin and Walpapi Indians stems from four main causes: abysmal ignorance concerning the Northern Paiute-speaking peoples of central and eastern Oregon on the part of Indian Bureau officials in the 1860's when treaties were being negotiated with them;[8] manipulation of Klamath Agency funds and groups to meet very real exigencies in the troubled 1860's and 1870's;[9] misinterpretation or neglect by ethnographers of relevant documentary material relating to the Klamath and westernmost Northern Paiute;[10] and the willingness of ethnographers to accept treaty-designated groups as valid aboriginal groups. These four main causes become obvious as we ex-

101 114 648 amine in detail the history of the so-called "Yahooskin" and "Wollpahpe Snakes", or better, the history of the western Great Basin, Northern Paiute-speaking population of central Oregon.

2. The "Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians"

2. 1. The Treaty Yahooskins.

648 First specific mention of the Yahuskin, as far as we have been able to determine, is as signatories to a treaty of cession held at Council Grove near Ft. Klamath, Ore., in October, 1864.[11] Two "chiefs", Kile-to-ak and Sky-te-ock-et, of the "Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians", together with 21 Klamath and four Modoc "chiefs and headmen" signed this treaty, which was negotiated on behalf of the United States by Commissioners J. W. Perit Huntington, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, and William Logan, Indian Agent at Warm Springs Reservation, Ore.[12]

131 648 The area ceded extended eastward from the summit of the Cascades to Harney Lake, and from the 44th parallel southward some distance below the 42nd parallel (present Oregon-California boundary line).[12a] The Silver-Summer-Abert-Harney lakes region, or the eastern half of the total area ceded, is the portion which the "Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians" presumably relinquished, but since the treaty was a joint one, the areas signed away by each of the three "tribes" or "bands" represented are not explicitly allocated.[13]

648 In a contemporary document, a letter written the day the treaty was signed, Capt. William Kelly, commanding Ft. Klamath, does not mention the Yahuskin, but merely says, "The treaty with the Klamath, Modoc, and a Small Band of Snake Indians, mentioned in my letter of yesterday, has been signed today....There were present of the Snakes....."[14]

Very little is known about the Klamath-Modoc-Yahuskin treaty, or about the events that led up to it. We do know that in August or September, 1864, Huntington visited Ft. Klamath, "held a conference with chiefs and such of the headmen as could be collected on short notice," and made arrangements for the treaty council in October. No "Snakes" attended this preliminary conference.[15] Since no minutes have been preserved, either of the preliminary conference or the actual treaty council, we do not know certainly who served as interpreters at the confer-

648 in a treaty council held with the Klamaths by Mr. Huntington, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, and expressed a willingness to go upon the Klamath Reservation, when the treaty should be ratified"[23] (underlining ours).

So much for the material in Drew's Official Report. A letter from Drew, written in his camp at Goose Lake on July 18, 1864 to the Assistant Adjutant General, U. S. A., San Francisco, Calif., gives additional details about this incident and the Indians. The letter reads in part as follows:

> Yesterday the petty chief and two others of the band of Indians of this vicinity came into camp by my direction. . . . This morning, after gaining what information I could respecting their numbers, etc., I dismissed them and sent them from camp in company with the two Indian messengers who had brought them. Soon after their departure the messengers returned and stated that the other three [the Indian visitors] had been ambushed and fired upon by four of the party of citizens who came yesterday, and they thought all were killed. I immediately dispatched a detachment of ten men in pursuit....The object of the attack upon these Indians was to get possession of two horses, but the unarmed Indians being joined just then by armed comrades, the result is as stated. Both of the horses have been brought in....They are inferior animals and poorly repay the cost of getting them. No Indian depredations are reported to have been committed in this [131] vicinity, though the principal traveled route from Red Bluff and Fort Crook to John Day's River and vicinity passes directly through the country which these Indians occupy..."[24] (all underlining ours).

● 101 131 That the three Snake Indians brought to Drew's camp were, in 1864, definitely associated with the region in which they were encountered, and that they and their comrades did not constitute one of the roving, predatory Snake groups of the 1860's which were operating under notorious war leaders and plundering pack trains, emigrant parties, and ran- [646] chers, seems evident from Drew's letter. A few days before he encamped on Goose Lake, Drew had searched Sprague River Valley for just such marauders.[25]

It also seems clear that the Indians Drew met did not customarily live in Goose Lake Valley, which extends for some 10-15 miles north of

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

the head of Goose Lake, between this lake and Silver, Summer and Abert lakes. Drew describes upper Goose Lake Valley, which forms part of the Goose Lake Basin, and says of its inhabitants: "Among the Snakes, Modoc, upper Pitt River, Klamath and Piute Indians, Goose Lake Valley, or that portion of it which lies to the northward of the Lakes, is neutral ground; neither tribe claiming it especially, but each using it at will for hunting and fishing, and gathering the wild rye for winter food."[36] Elsewhere he says, "As has already been stated in this report, the upper portion of Goose Lake Valley is neutral ground as between the Snake, Piute, Upper Pitt River, Modoc and Klamath Indians; but the country infested by each of these tribes respectively, borders directly upon it, and taken as a whole, form [sic] its entire boundary."[37] The journalist Stephen Powers confirms Drew; writing in the 1870's Powers also expressly notes that the "great plains" north of Goose Lake were not inhabited by Indians.[38]

That the Snakes Drew met, and the Snakes at the Klamath treaty-signing of October, 1864, belonged to one and the same group also seems evident. Furthermore, there was only one Klamath treaty council which was attended by Snakes between July 17, 1864 (when Drew met the three Snake Indians at Goose Lake) and January 12, 1865 (the date of Drew's Official Report). This was the treaty council held in October, 1864, near Ft. Klamath. The so-called Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians were the only Snakes present at the 1864 Klamath treaty council; both Huntington and Capt. Kelly agree on this point.[30] Therefore the Snakes whom Drew had in camp July 17-18, 1864, who were "subsequently....represented in a treaty council held with the Klamaths by Mr. Huntington"[31] in October of the same year, must have been part of that "Small Band of Snake Indians" mentioned by Capt. Kelly as present at the treaty-signing,[32] whom Huntington designates as "The Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians."[33]

Where Huntington got the name "Yahooskin" for the twenty-two Northern Paiute who attended the treaty council will probably never be certainly known. Seemingly it was merely a treaty name, first recorded by Huntington in the October 14, 1864 treaty; it reappears thereafter only in Indian Affairs records, not in Army records. As already noted, it is not used by Capt. Kelly in his letter enumerating the number of Indians pre-

sent for treaty negotiations, which was written the day the treaty was signed. A suggested etymology for Yahuskin in the Klamath language is as follows: ya (prefix) down, down below;[34] hu (morpheme) far off, in the distance, either visibly or so far as to be invisible;[35] -kni (suffix) those of, people of,[36] Anglicised as -kin instead of Klamath -kni.[37] According to this etymology, Yahuskin would mean people of far off down below, an apt name from the Klamath viewpoint.[38] Albert S. Gatschet is silent, however, on the name being of Klamath origin, and from what Leslie Spier[39] reports, it seems certain that Yahuskin is not an old Klamath name for a particular Northern Paiute group. It may be that it was a descriptive name made up for Huntington by a Klamath speaker at the treaty.

Why a "Small Band of Snake Indians" was willing to attend the October, 1864 treaty council becomes understandable in the light of the Drew material. Drew had befriended the three Snakes whom the White prospectors had attacked,[40] and had also had the Indians' horses, "inferior animals" though they were, returned to them. Fair treatment of this sort[41] plus their probably being told by their Klamath neighbors that food and goods would be distributed at the treaty negotiations,[42] in all likelihood induced the eleven Snake men, five women and six children, to go to Ft. Klamath, Lt. Col. Drew's headquarters, for the treaty proceedings.

The pre-treaty identification of those "Snakes" who signed the Klamath treaty of October 14, 1864 being thus determined, their customary range in 1864 can be established in the light of what we know about some of the westernmost Northern Paiute peoples in the 1860's from ethnographic accounts by Isabel Kelly, Omer C. Stewart, and Beatrice Blyth Whiting.[43]

It will be recalled that in 1864 Drew's scouts found the three Snake Indians and their companions either up in the Warner Range or between the western slope of the Warners and Drew's camp on the northeastern shore of Goose Lake near its head. It will also be recalled that Drew nowhere indicates that these Indians were associated with the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region north of the then uninhabited upper Goose Lake Valley.[44]

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

According to Kelly, those Northern Paiute or Snakes who customarily used the western slopes of the Warners for summer and fall hunting in the 1860's were the ancestors of the Northern Paiute now known as the Surprise Valley Paiute or Gidu'tikadu (vars., Kidutokado, Gididika) Ground Hog Eaters, Woodchuck Eaters.[45] Kelly, who has published the basic ethnography on the Northern Paiute of Surprise Valley, Calif., obtained her field data from several Paiute informants born in Surprise Valley ca. 1860-1870;[46] the information they gave Kelly relates largely to that region and period. Kelly's informants stated that their people were accustomed to winter at favored spots east of the Warner Range in Warner Valley and Surprise Valley, and that in summer and fall they hunted as far west as the eastern shore of Goose Lake, from Buck Creek or Fandango Creek northward to the head of the lake. This region west of the Warners was regarded as a hunting province; informants told Kelly explicitly that, "We didn't own it, we just hunted there."[47] The statements of a Surprise Valley Paiute at the Reno hearings in 1951 confirm this data of Kelly's on the use, by Surprise Valley Paiute hunting parties, of the country west of the Warners.[48]

Therefore it would seem that the three Snakes interviewed by Drew, who were hunting in the summer of 1864 in the Warners in country which Drew says they "occupied," if identifiable with any particular locale are identifiable with the Surprise – Warner valleys area. This is a well watered region which we know was frequented by Northern Paiute from at least the 1820's onward.[49]

The fact that at the Klamath treaty-signing in 1864 a few Northern Paiute from the Surprise Valley region were willing to cede the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes area of some 5,000 square miles, thirty to forty miles northwest of their customary range, is a striking illustration of the lack of any definite concept of land ownership which, as an experienced Army officer of that period observed,[50] prevailed among these people. Accustomed as the Northern Paiute were to wander at will over large arid tracts in their quest for food, there is every probability that some or all of the "Snakes" present at the treaty-signing knew the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region; it would be surprising if they did not. But that they in any sense "owned" this region or were so closely associated

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

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423 with it as to be able to sign it away at a treaty, would appear improb-
648 able in the light of Drew's and Kelly's data. The treaty Yahuskin thus
131 dissolve as representing a Northern Paiute aboriginal group or "band"
[101] living in the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region.

We turn now to the post-treaty, Reservation Yahuskin of Klamath Agency records.

K
101 2. 2. The Reservation Yahooskin. Acceptance of the Yahuskin by eth-
114 nographers as representing an aboriginal group has been bolstered by the fact that "Yahooskins" are referred to, and population figures given for them, in Klamath Reservation reports throughout the first decade the Reservation was in existence (1865-1875).[51] It has generally been assumed that these Yahooskins of Agency record were identical with the pre-Reservation Yahooskin who signed the 1864 treaty, by all ethnographers concerned with them except Nash. The latter, in an undocumented statement, remarks that soon after the treaty was signed, the people designated as Yahooskin on the Klamath Reservation were those "Klamath who had their permanent settlements in Sprague River Valley and had intermarried to some extent with the Modoc. Their habitat had been, and still is, the Eastern end of Klamath Reservation, known locally as the 'Upper End'."[52]

Little notice has been taken of this remark of Nash's, since no proof in the form of documentation was offered for it. However, the existence of a pre-treaty, upper Sprague River Valley Klamath group becomes abundantly clear from Drew's account of his trip through Sprague River Valley in July, 1864. In his official report Drew records that the day after setting out from Ft. Klamath on the Owyhee expedition, he learned that a party of hostile Snakes had attacked a Mr. Richardson's wagon-train on the Yreka-Canyon City route, around Silver Lake, Ore., some 60 miles northeast of Ft. Klamath. The Indians had forced the train to fall back to John Day's Ford on upper Sprague River.[53] Drew, who had been ordered into the field to punish and to prevent just such hostilities, on being informed of the attack marched his expedition eastward from Williamson River up Sprague River Valley, which is a forty-mile long, east-west valley located east of Upper Klamath Lake.[54] Well east in Sprague River Valley Drew met Indians, of whom he says:

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR 10

KN 648

mer of 1866 Major W. V. Rinehart, then commanding Ft. Klamath, took a number of Snakes captive, "with the assistance of the Klamaths and Yahooskins."[30]

KN 101 131 648 721

That Applegate did not consider the Yahuskin to be "Snakes proper," although he refers to them officially as "Yahooskin Snakes" is evident from his first annual report, dated August 6, 1866. In this report he remarks, "There are at present no Snakes proper on the reservation unless we except some prisoners in the custody of the military at Fort Klamath....I am led to believe....that there is now a union of all the Snakes proper [underlining ours] for a more determined war....The universal belief among the Klamaths and Yahooskins is that the Snakes are all for war...'The Klamaths and Yahooskins,' Major Rinehart says, 'are eager to vindicate their loyalty, and would willingly become our allies in an invasion of the Snake domain.'"[31]

KN 648 166

By the end of September, 1866, the Snakes captured by Major Rinehart during the summer had evidently been removed to Sprague River Valley. Applegate writes, in his monthly report for Sept. 30, 1866:

> There are some Snake Indians on the Reservation in Moshenkosket's Country [Upper Sprague River Valley], in the care of that chief and his people [underlining ours]. They are the same who were placed there by Major Rinehart, by my permission. I understand that they desire to talk with me and I have appointed the 3rd of October for a talk with them. I do not have confidence that they are disposed to be peaceable only so far as they think it may bring them winter subsistence, and....I suspect that they have, where they are now, constant communication with war parties, and if required to come down nearer to the Fort and the Lower Klamath Indians, so that their communication with Paunine [Panai'na] would have to cease they would possibly leave the Reservation, if they could make their escape.[32]

N 648 166

Three days later, as scheduled, Applegate met these same Snakes at the Agency. The Snakes professed friendship, asked for winter subsistence and permission to remain in Sprague River Valley. Applegate told them they would have to

> ...come down to Council Grove, near the agency, where they could be cared for and protected. This they agreed to

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

N 648 166

> do....[but] on the succeeding night [Oct. 4, 1866] they left the reservation, taking with them some horses and guns belonging to the Yahooskins and Klamaths, and a [wagon] train sent out by Captain Sprague to convey their property [from Sprague River Valley] to Council Grove returned, and a hostile force was sent out instead [to capture them]....I became convinced that danger [from the Snakes] was imminent. Early in October I commenced the fortification of the agency buildings, which were completed....[83]

K 648 166 578

The help they had given Applegate and the military in the summer of 1866, and the abrupt withdrawal of Maj. Rinehart's Snake captives from the Reservation in the fall, made MotcunkasKEt and his people apprehensive; consequently they removed temporarily from Sprague River Valley to the vicinity of the Agency, where they spent the winter of 1866-1867.[84] This move brought them in close contact with the Upper Klamath Lake group of Klamath. Friction evidently developed between the leaders of the two groups, for on January 31, 1867, Applegate wrote to Huntington,

K 578

"There has been considerable excitement occasioned by an attempt on the part of Moahenkosket chief of the Yahooskins [underlining ours] and his followers, to depose High chief LaLakes and become High Chief himself. But the attempt resulted in little more than a great deal of talk and excitement, and the revolution has been stayed."[85] Here we have our first specific instance, in an excellent source, of misapplication of the name Yahooskin to the Sprague River Klamath group. In another monthly report written on May 31, 1867, Applegate makes it clear that the Indians he refers to as "Yahooskins" belonged in Sprague River Valley[86]--and nowhere in his correspondence or reports does he mention any other Indian group as belonging in Sprague River Valley in 1867.

N K 101

There is also other evidence, both direct and indirect, indicating that the post-Reservation Yahuskin were Drew's Sprague River Valley Klamath group, to wit:

K 101

a) In 1867 and 1868 the Statistical Tables in the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs list the "tribes" of "Klamath Snakes &c." of Oregon as "Klamath, Modoc, and four bands of Snakes." These "four bands" are Huntington's Woll-pah-pe, Wah-tat-kin, I-uke-spi-ule, and

K 101 Hoo-ne-boo-ly Snakes.[87] No fifth group (the Yahooskin) is included in the tabulation, as it was in Huntington's 1865 listing of five "Snake bands."[88]

K N 101 131 b) Late in 1868 Huntington made a trip through south-central Oregon; in a long unpublished account of this trip, written at Umatilla Indian Agency and dated December 22, 1868,[88a] Huntington lists and describes all the Snake groups in south-central Oregon. The only Snakes he mentions as being on Klamath Reservation are a destitute group of "about 130 souls" in Sprague River Valley, at "Yinax."[89] It is a matter of record [K 166] that this group of 130 Snakes were newcomers to Sprague River Valley, having moved there only a few months before Huntington visited it.[90] We know that the Sprague River Klamath or "Yahooskin" were also on the Reservation in 1868; therefore, since no reference is made to them it is plain that Huntington, like Applegate, did not regard them as Snakes.

c) In 1870 Klamath Sub-agent Capt. O. C. Knapp refers in his Annual Report to "the Yahooskins, half Klamaths, half Snakes."[91]

K N 166 648 d) In 1872, after Yainax sub-station had been established at the eastern ("upper") end of Klamath Reservation, in middle Sprague River Valley,[92] I. D. Applegate, Yainax sub-agent, enumerated the four groups of Indians under his care at Yainax Station. Applegate lists Schonchin's group of Modoc who were removed to Yainax in 1870;[93] Ocheo's band of Snakes, which was moved to Yainax from Camp Warner in 1869;[94] a Silver-Summer lakes band of Snakes which moved to Yainax in 1868;[95] and finally, "the Sprague River band."[96] This latter group is, obviously, the Klamath-Snake group under MoctunkaskEt which Drew had encountered in Sprague River Valley in 1864. It is also, obviously, equatable by elimination with the post-Reservation Yahuskin who were in the Valley but who are not mentioned by I. D. Applegate.

K N 161 e) In 1875 population figures for Klamath Agency are given as follows: Klamaths 543, Modocs 103, Piutes 100,[97] Wal-pah-pe Snakes 101, Yahooskin Snakes 143.[98] In 1876 the Yahooskin are silently combined with the Klamath, in the following figures: Klamaths 676 (as against 543 of the year before), Modocs 100, Pi-ute Snakes 100, Walpahpe Snakes 137.[99] The 1877 figures are Klamath 667, Modoc 93, Walpahpee Snake 137.[100] In 1878 figures are given only for the Klamath (681), the Modoc (101), and the "Walpahpee or Yahooskin Snake" (148); the latter entry is clearly a con-

fusion.[181] In 1880 and thereafter population figures are for Klamath, Modoc, and Snake Indians.[182]

f) In 1926 Simon Isaac, a Klamath Indian, testified that the Yahuskin (by which he meant the post-Reservation Yahuskin) were at the 1864 treaty-signing, that he had seen them there, and that Moctunkas'kEt (who signed the treaty as a Klamath) was their chief. Isaac then volunteered that "the Paiutes [Walpapi Snakes] came to the Reservation two years later"—but unfortunately his volunteered testimony concerning the Paiutes was not pursued.[183]

g) In 1951 Ocho Winnemucca, a Northern Paiute,[184] when asked through an interpreter at the Reno hearing if he had ever heard of the people called Yahuskin, said: "Yes, he knows the one. In Oregon. He says are different tribe [from the Paiute]. That was the Chiliquin.'"[185] Asked again if the Yahuskin were Paiute, he stated positively, " 'No, different altogether.' " Asked a third time "'How about the Yahuskins, were they Piute?' " his answer was, " 'No, he says they're not Piutes.' "[186] Incredible as Winnemucca's replies seemed at the time to the attorney questioning him the historical data amply support his identification of the post-Reservation Yahuskin as being "Chiliquin" (Klamath), and not "Piute" (Northern Paiute).

3. Northern Paiute of the Silver-Summer-Abert Lakes Region. That there were Indians who frequented the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region in the first half of the 19th century and that these were probably Northern Paiute-speaking peoples, is indicated in various early sources. That these people were not "The Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians" who ceded this region in the treaty of October 14, 1864 and that they were not the "Yahooskins" of post-treaty Klamath Agency records, has been shown. Who, then, were they?

Early source material yields hints, only, in answer to this question. On May 27, 1827, Peter Skene Ogden, Chief Trader in charge of a Hudson's Bay Company Snake Brigade, had fifty-six horses stolen from his brigade near "Salt Lake" (Abert Lake?). Ogden remarks, "Shd. the thieves be Snakes we may find a guide." Two days later he notes that "the thieves' camp consisted of 14 tents." On June 1st, while on the borders of some "muddy lakes" (Warner Lakes?) Ogden "found huts of

Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region, which continued to remain isolated and undescribed. However in the late fall, as we have already noted, Huntington obtained by the Klamath-Modoc-Yahuskin Snake treaty of cession the entire Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region, embracing some 5,000 square miles.[132]

Two years after the 1864 Klamath treaty cession, in October, 1866, a small military expedition from Ft. Klamath "had a fight with a band of hostile Snake Indians near Lake Abbott [Abert]:" fourteen Indians were killed and many wounded.[133] In September of the next year (1867) Lt. Small, then commanding Ft. Klamath, captured five Snakes at Silver Lake, and fourteen on Chewaucan River, between Summer and Abert lakes.[134] Small took his prisoners, nineteen in all, to Ft. Klamath, arriving at the fort on September 22, 1867.[135] On September 28 Lindsay Applegate held a council with the Indians on the Reservation, including the newly arrived Snake prisoners.[136] Two days later, on October 1, 1867, Applegate wrote to Huntington requesting a Snake interpreter; to justify the request he remarked in his letter, "Besides the Ya-hoos-kin Snakes there is a division of the Woll-pah-pe tribe on the Reservation. These last mentioned Snakes are parties to the Snake Treaty and are residing quietly and harmoniously on the Reservation in pursuance to the provisions of the compact."[137] In none of his previous correspondence does Applegate mention that any of the Walpapi had returned to the Reservation; this is the first reference to Walpapi having settled there since Panaiña had decamped in the spring of 1866. Obviously Applegate's "division" of Walpapi consisted of none other than the nineteen prisoners which Lt. Small had brought to the Reservation eight days previously from the Silver-Summer lakes region.

Less than a year after the first small detachment of Silver-Summer lakes Paiute had been brought onto Klamath Reservation the remainder of the Indians from Silver and Summer lakes voluntarily removed to the Reservation.[138] These later arrivals numbered around a hundred souls, and were also immediately referred to, in Agency correspondence and records, as "Wall pah-pe Snakes."[139] The applicability of this name, for Indians deriving in 1867 and 1868 from the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region, which had been ceded on the authority of the "Yahooskins" in 1864, is reserved for discussion in the second half of this paper.

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Notes

121 648 1. This paper is based on ethnohistorical research done for the Lands Division, United States Department of Justice, in connection with three aboriginal occupancy cases before the Indian Claims Commission: Docket No. 87, The Piute Nation vs. the United States; Docket No. 17, Indians of the Former Malheur Reservation vs. the United States; Docket No. 100, The Klamath and Modoc Tribes and the Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians vs. the United States. I wish to thank Julian H. Steward, who appeared before the Commission as the main witness for the Government in hearings on Dockets 87 and 17, and Leland L. Yost, attorney, Lands Division, for basic questions both raised concerning the nature and history of the Northern Paiute "bands" of central Oregon, and for the unlimited help Mr. Yost rendered in locating archival material. To David Cobb of the firm of Cobb and Weisbrodt, attorneys for the plaintiffs in Docket No. 87, I am indebted for an indefinite loan of a set of plaintiff's exhibits, consisting chiefly of copies of letters and reports in the National Archives.

113 The following abbreviations are used:

BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology — Bulletin
BIA	Bureau of Indian Affairs
CDS	Congressional Documents Series
DC	Department of the Columbia
DP	Department of the Pacific
FP	Field Papers
NA	National Archives
OS	Oregon Superintendency
OSFP	Oregon Superintendency Field Papers
RCIA	Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs
RSW	Report of the Secretary of War
Stats. L.	United States Statutes at Large
WDC	War Department Commands
WR	War of the Rebellion, Ser. 1, Vol. 50.

128 All remarks within parentheses in quoted material are part of the quotation; all bracketed material is ours unless otherwise indicated.

101 648 2. Snakes (and variants thereof — Digger Snakes, Paiute Snakes, Snake Root Diggers, Upper and Lower Snakes, and so forth) was the early 19th-century name used by explorers, Indian Bureau and Army personnel, and early settlers for the Northern Paiute-speaking peoples in central and eastern Oregon. The Indians themselves never recognized or acknowledged Snake as a name, but did refer to themselves in English as Paiutes. Gradually the latter name came to be used by the Whites; at first more commonly for those Indians of south-central

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13 ●
Klamath NR10

Oregon who roamed east of the Warner Range, then for all the Indians in central Oregon previously referred to as Snakes. See Protection Afforded, pp. 12-14, for the earliest (1854) and the restricted use of Piute; RCIA 1870 (CDS #1449) pp. 598-599 for a more extended application of the name.

N 101 ● 648

At the present time "Northern Paiute" is the name used to distinguish the Indians of central and eastern Oregon, southwestern Idaho, northeastern California and western Nevada, from the northern Arizona-southeastern Nevada "Southern Paiute" who speak a related, but different Uto-Aztekan language, unintelligible with Northern Paiute. Reasons for the general adoption of the name Northern Paiute are given in Berreman, Tribal Distribution, pp. 47-53, Ray and Others, Tribal Distribution, pp. 402-407, especially pp. 405-407; Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, pp. 128-129. See also Julian H. Steward, Owens Valley Paiute, p. 235, and Basin-Plateau, Fig. 1 and p. ix.

N 101 197 [131]

3. Acceptance of the Yahuskin and Walpapi by ethnographers as aboriginal bands began in 1879 and has continued to the present time. See Gatschet, Classification, p. 410, Indian Languages, p. 753, Klamath Indians, pt. 1, p. xxxv; BAE-B 30, pt. 2, pp. 557, 983, 901; Berreman, Tribal Distribution, pp. 47-53; Ray and Others, Tribal Distribution, p. 406; Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, Map 1 and pp. 131-132; Whiting, Paiute Sorcery, p. 21; Driver and Others, Map. Omer C. Stewart, in particular, accepts the Walpapi and Yahuskin as aboriginal, landowning, politically organized bands, and maps them as such. His Yahuskin area contains "about 5,000 sq. mi." (ibid., map and pp. 131-132) and his "Hunipuitoka or Walpapi" area about 7,000 sq. mi. (idem).

N 114 101

4. Gatschet's 1879 spelling of Yahuskin and Walpapi (Classification, p. 410) has been generally adopted in the ethnographic literature. In BIA reports and correspondence the treaty-spellings (see below), or variants thereof, are customarily used.

N 101 128

5. Treaty Between the United States of America and the Klamath and Moadoc Tribes and Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians; Concluded, October 14, 1864; Ratification advised, with Amendments, July 2, 1866; Amendments assented to, December 10, 1869; Proclaimed February 17, 1870 (Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383).

N K 648 113

Treaty Between the United States of America and the Wollpah-pe Tribe of Snake Indians; Concluded August 12, 1865; Ratification advised July 5, 1866; Proclaimed July 10, 1866 (Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683).

6. Published lists of Klamath "divisions" or groups as given by Leslie Spier (Klamath Ethnography, pp. 23-26) and Edward S. Curtis (North American Indian, vol. 13, pp. 237-239) do not include any upper Sprague River Valley Klamath group. Spier's omission is probably due

K 101 114 131

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

K N 10/ 648 76. RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) p. 89, Lindsay Applegate's first annual report to Huntington, dated Aug. 6, 1866. Applegate's reference to the "deputation of Yahooskin Snakes" may be the first instance of confusion of the Sprague River Klamath with the treaty-signing Yahuskin group. It will be recalled that the garrison at Ft. Klamath, in 1865, regarded "Moghenkaskit and his band ...as a sort of guardian of the border" and "depended on him for information of the hostile Snakes" (see fn. 55, above).

In attempting to make a treaty with Howlark, Applegate was acting on Huntington's orders (NA. BIA. OS. FP. Letter Book "H" pp. 735-737, Huntington to Lindsay Applegate, Salem, Ore., Oct. 21, 1865).

N 648 77. RCIA (CDS #1284) p. 89. Howlark declared himself for a continuation of the war and attempted to persuade Panaina to leave the Reservation and join him.

000 78. Idem.

79. Idem.

80. Idem.

81. Idem. See also fn. 84, below.

82. NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. Box "D," Lindsay Applegate to Huntington, Sept. 30, 1866.

N K 648 83. RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) pp. 91-92; NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. Box "D," Lindsay Applegate to Huntington, Oct. 31, 1866. By the fall of 1866, Klamath Reservation and Agency was becoming an established fact, although the Reservation had not as yet been surveyed (RCIA 1866 [CDS #1284] p. 24).

84. In his October 31, 1866 monthly report Lindsay Applegate informed Huntington: "There are no Snakes proper, on the reservation, but an attack by them or a raid by them for the purpose of stealing and plundering is daily and nightly expected by the Klamaths and Ya-hooskins...Fearing the Snakes the Yahooskins have moved down within a short distance of the Agency where most of the Indians have collected" (NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. Box "D").

85. NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. Box "D," Lindsay Applegate to Huntington, Jan. 31, 1867; see also RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) pp. 91-92.

N K 122 648 86. "Fearing the Snakes the Ya-hoos-kins until very lately refrained from going into their own country (Sprague River Valley) [parentheses Applegate's] to collect roots which are now found there in great quantities, but I have lately organized a force of Klamaths and Yahooskins consisting of about fifty men armed and about as many women. This

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

648 In the treaty of 1865 the Walpapi ceded a large wedge-shaped tract of land in central Oregon, extending from Harney Lake northward to the North Fork of John Day River. The greater portion of this tract had already been ceded by the Walla Walla, the Confederated Tribes of Middle Oregon, and by the Klamath, Modoc and Yahuskin, in three previous treaties.[146] By the Walpapi treaty (which, as we have already noted, Huntington regarded as "mainly and addendum" to the Klamath treaty, bringing the Walpapi on the Klamath Reservation)[147] Huntington hoped that not only the Walpapi, but all the other Northern Paiute of central Oregon would eventually remove to Klamath, and that depredations by them would be ended.[148]

Upon ratification, the 1865 treaty provided for an expenditure of $2,000 per annum for five years, and $1,200 per annum for the next ten years, for beneficial objects for the Walpapi, such as would "advance them in morals and knowledge of civilization."[149]

Although any certain references to the Walpapi are lacking until the 1865 treaty, references to Panai'na (Pah-ni-ne),[150] the head signer, are fairly numerous. Through such, and also through [166] [101] references to some of the other signers, the ever-shifting locale and some of the activities of the Huntington-designated "Woll-pah-pe Tribe of Snake Indians" can be traced over a span of years.[151]

648 726 We hear of Panai'na earliest of all as a captive on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation, where he and "We-you-we-wa,"[152] were taken prisoners by Indian Agent A. P. Dennison and turned over to the military for safekeeping. Both captives "appearing to be well disposed," were employed as guides for Capt. H. D. Wallen's wagon road expedition in central Oregon in the summer of 1859, but near Harney Lake the two guides decamped, "taking with them several horses and two good rifles."[153]

Snake raids on Warm Springs were frequent from the year of Panai'na's and Weawewa's capture through 1868, and netted the raiders hundreds of heads of horses and cattle.[154] Panai'na engaged in several such,[155] but not much is heard of him specifically

K N 622 648

In 1870 "Old Chief 'Moskosket'" of the Sprague River Klamaths was, by Commissary Applegate's order, "reduced and broken of his rank for disafection [sic] among not only his own, but other bands of Indians. His place has been filled by the election of 'Barcley' [LeLu] a man every way fit to fill the office."[236] The Walpapi Snakes continued to be represented by Tcháktot, however; this chief is frequently mentioned as active in Indian affairs at Yainax, in the records of the Oregon Superintendency for the late 1860's and 1870's.[237] There is only one possible reference, as far as I know, of the other Walpapi chief whom Lindsay Applegate names as having come on the Reservation at the same time Tcháktot did. In his monthly report for April, 1872, Ivan D. Applegate says: "The Summer Lake band of Snakes under Chief Chocktoot and Kilo-to-ik[238] are decidedly in favor of remaining permanently here, and take much interest in ... farming operations, and in improvement generally."[239] N [177] [241]

In 1869 Col. Elmer Otis, commanding the District of the Lakes, states that "Choe-tote's Band" numbered "about one hundred and eighty (180) Indians, young and old, male and female."[240] In 1872 the population of the Walpapi Snakes is officially given as 38 males, 60 females, total 98;[241] this agrees with Col. Otis' statement of the same year that "Choctote's band then consisted of about 100 souls."[242] In March, 1872, however, Ivan D. Applegate wrote from Yainax that "During the month the Klamath Indians of this place[243] together with about one hundred and fifty Snakes went with permission to Lost River where they have caught and dried a very large supply of fish. The Ocheo or Piute band remaining here."[244] In 1873 Klamath Indian Agent L. S. Dyar gives the Walpapi population as one hundred and twenty-eight.[245] N [161] 648

K N 226 251

N [161]

Direct descendants of Tcháktot and Panai'na still live at the "Piute Camp" near Beatty, Ore.,[246] but as far as I could judge from a brief visit at Klamath Agency in 1952, the name Walpapi has passed out of common usage. Members of the single Northern Paiute group now living on the Klamath Reservation are usually N 101 [361]

N 101 referred to as "Piutes;" direct questioning will, however, elicit another name — Yahuskin. Pete Paulina, for example, when specifically asked at a court hearing in 1927, perfunctorily admitted to being a Yahuskin; so did Bob Foster, another witness also living at the Piute Camp near Beatty.[247] "Piute" and "Yahuskin" may have become synonymous several decades ago; Inspector James McLaughlin, writing in 1910, refers to the Piutes of the Upper End of Klamath Reservation as the "Ya-hoo Snakes or Ya-hoos-kins" and the "Ya-hoos."[248] Such a confusion of names on the part of White interrogators and authors is regrettable, to say the least.

N 114 The only ethnographer who has visited the present day Northern Paiute on Klamath Reservation is Isabel Kelly, who spent five days at Beatty, Ore., in 1930. Kelly states that "The Beatty band [622] [of Northern Paiute] is known as the Go?y'atikad[ü], Freshwater crab eaters, a designation which is post-reservation in period. N [166] The members of this band came originally from Summer and Silver Lakes, Oregon, where they were known as the Dühütcyatikad[ü], or Deer eaters."[249] Kelly obtained some folk tales and one N 115 historical narrative about Tcháktot from Beatty informants;[250] also some ethnographic data from Dr. Sam Wata, a former Northern Paiute shaman who in the early 1860's had lived at Silver Lake.[251]

N 181 According to what I was told in 1952 by Klamath Indian Agent E. J. Diehl, the Piutes on Klamath Reservation today are noticeably conservative, in comparison with the Klamath and Modoc parts of the Reservation population.

(To be concluded)

Notes

K N 101 114 140. Since Part 1 of this paper appeared, additional archival material was found which establishes an historical continuity for the Walpapi Snakes, possibly from 1859 onward, but certainly from 1864 up to the present. This new material, which is included in the present Part 2, also goes far to confirm identification of the post-Treaty Yahuskin as a Klamath group of upper Sprague River Valley.

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

141. Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683. One possible earlier mention of the Walpapi is contained in a letter from Indian Agent A. P. Dennison to J. W. Nesmith, Dalles, Ore., Jan. 17, 1859: "While at the [Warm Springs] agency I made a short trip into the Snake country and met about one hundred and fifty of the Wah Push Pel band of Snake Indians, they seemed much pleased to see me, treated me very kindly and the chief, We-ah-we-ah and eight of his headmen came to the agency and I made them a few presents. I think this band of Snakes would be very glad to treat with the Govt. for their lands. They are almost entirely destitute of provisions and near naked" (Na. BIA. OS. Letters Received).

142. Weawewa, who between the time Dennison visited him in 1859 (see fn. 141) and 1865 had become notorious for his raiding activities, had also been invited to the Walpapi treaty. He did not appear because some of the Paiutes told him that the Whites would kill him (Na. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands. DC. 9-K-1868. Wm. Kelly to George Williams, Camp Harney, Ore., June 25, 1868).

143. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) pp. 649-650.

144. Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383; ibid., vol. 14, p. 683, art. 5.

145. A possible etymology for Yahuskin, in Klamath, has been suggested (p. 102). Wah-tat-kin may be the Klamath version of wada (Northern Paiute name for Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats., the seeds of which were gathered for food [Whiting, Northern Paiute Sorcery, p. 19]) plus the Klamath suffix -kni, those of, people of, Anglicized as -kin (see p. 102).

Hoo-ne-boo-ey probably derives from N. Paiute hu.nibui (Lomatium macrocarpium C and R) the root of which was gathered for food (Whiting, ibid., p. 17).

Walpapi may be the Klamath form for wah push pel, presumably the N. Paiute name for the group with Weawewa in 1859 (fn. 141).

146. Treaties of June 9, 1855; June 25, 1855; Oct. 14, 1846 (Royce, Indian Land Cessions, pp. 804-805, 808-809, 834-835; pl. CLVIII, "Oregon 1,").

147. See p. 106 and fn. 70. This remark of Huntington's, although meaningless, has been frequently echoed; see RCIA 1866 (CDS #1204) p. 6; Klamath Boundary Commission, pp. 7, 19.

148. "Once settled upon the Klamath Reservation the Woll-pah-pe tribe will be the means of bringing all the others in. Indeed, Pau-li-nee is the war chief, the recognized leader in all their warlike expeditions. His submission will soon, no doubt, be followed by that of Howlark [another central Oregon-Northern California Snake war leader] and We-you-we-wa [see fns. 141, 142], and with them the last of the hostile bands" (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] p. 651, Huntington to Commissioner of Indian Affairs).

149. Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683, art. 7.

150. See p. 97 and fn. 7. Variant spellings of Panai'na's name are legion. Paulina Mountain, Paulina Lake, Paulina Marsh and Paulina, Ore., are named for him (McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 335).

151. Prior to Panai'na's appearance in the literature, "Snakes," as well as other Indians, had been encountered east of the Deschutes River, by traders and early explorers. However, no specific references are made in early accounts, to Snake "bands" or to individual Snakes, by name, and no attacks by Snakes of the Deschutes region are noted. Some of the early references to Snakes in this area are as follows.

Early in the 19th century Lewis and Clark were told by Columbia River Indians that "Snakes" (undoubtedly Northern Paiute) lived in large numbers on the Towornehiooks (Deschutes) River (Thwaites, Original Journals, vol. 3, pp. 147-149). In journals written in 1811-1812, two Pacific Fur Company traders, Robert Stuart and Wilson Price Hunt, refer to the Deschutes as the Shoshone, Shooshonie and Chochoni River. Stuart mentions the river's "being thickly inhabited by the Shoshone nation" (Rollins, Discovery, pp. 60, 70, 305, 326). Elsewhere in his journal, and on excellent authority, Stuart mentions the "Shoshonas" as also being on the Willamette River (ibid., pp. 33, 44). These Shoshonas whom Donald McKenzie, another Pacific Fur Company trader, met along the banks of the Willamette sometime prior to 1811 were "very numerous" and went "by the name of Shoshonas they have neither Horses nor canoes... they have no villages or stationary habitations, but live in temporary huts along the river banks — Mr. McKenzie says that their behaviour to him was respectful and obliging in the extreme" (ibid., pp. 33, 44). What Northern Paiutes were doing so far west of the Deschutes is hard to say, but McKenzie was a reliable reporter.

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

In December, 1825 Peter Skene Ogden, Hudson's Bay trader, also found evidence of Snakes in the Deschutes region. Ogden came across two abandoned Snake camps, one consisting of forty huts, in the Deschutes-Crooked River country; he also notes that "Nez Perce" trappers had preceded him up the "River of the Falls," thereby indicating that the resources of this region were used not only by Snakes, but by other Indians as well (Elliott, Ogden Journals, vol. 10, pp. 343-345).

Ten years after Ogden, Nathaniel Wyeth, early Oregon pioneer from New England, found both Walla-Walla and Snake Indians around the junction of the Deschutes and Crooked rivers, in January, 1835. The Walla Wallas were hunting deer from horseback; no mention is made of the Snakes having horses (Young, Correspondence, p. 247). In the same general region Wyeth also met "Three lodges of friendly Snakes who had no meat or guns" and ten miles farther south he came upon eight lodges of Snakes (ibid., p. 246).

Frémont also met "a few Snake Indians of the root-digging species" with a village of Nez Perce Indians who "had with them fine bands of horses," on the east bank of the middle Deschutes River, in December, 1843 (Frémont, Report, p. 202).

In 1858, three years after the Warm Springs Reservation had been established by treaty on the west bank of the middle course of the Deschutes River, one group of Snakes, at least, were living opposite the Reservation on the east bank of the river. Dennison notes that in 1858 these Snakes had visited the Warm Springs Agency frequently during the year, and had been given a little tobacco on such occasions. Of their habits he says, "They subsist principally on insects, juniper berries, and roots; they kill some game, the skins of which furnish them with clothing; they have no horses or guns, but are said to be very fleet on foot and expert with the bow and arrow" (RCIA 1858 [CDS #974] p. 616). In January, 1859, Dennison visited a Snake camp east of Warm Springs (see fn. 140).

As before remarked, none of the early travelers, or Dennison in 1858 and January, 1859, refer to the Deschutes River Snakes as being hostile; McKenzie says those on the Willamette also were friendly. Possession of horses or guns is specifically denied, thereby indicating that they had done little or no raiding. Huntington states that prior to 1855 the Warm Springs Indians (Wascos and Des Chutes) had been friendly with the Snakes, and that it was only after this that enmity arose between them (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1248] p. 72; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to

N 551 200. "Giltewa" is referred to in another letter of Rinehart's, where his name is translated as One-eyed and he is spoken of as "one of Pauline's men" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., May 3, 1866). His name does not appear as an 1865 Walpapi treaty signer, but in April, 1865 Capt. Kelly refers to "The Old One eye man that attended the [Klamath, 1864] treaty has been badly torn by a Grisley Bear. The Indians set fire to a hill where the Bear was in and he rushed on the Old Man, and bit him badly besides burning him" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Wm. Kelly to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., April 8, 1865). George Nurse also mentions this in a letter written two days before Kelly's: "I hear one of the Snakes that was in Last fall at the [Klamath, 1864] treaty has shot himself the other has been nearly Killed by a Grisley Baar" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. George Nurse to J. W. Perit Huntington, Fort Klamatt, April 6, 1865).

N [224]

K 648 201. NA. BIA. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., July 2, 1866. It will be noted that Rinehart speaks of Motcunka'akEt's questionable loyalty. Lindsay Applegate, writing a few months later, mentions that "The Yahooskin Snakes are considered to some extent doubtful..." (NA. BIA. OS. Klamath Indian Sub-agency, Ore., Oct. 25, 1866). Here again the Klamath chief Motcunka'akEt and the post-1864 treaty Yahooskins are equatable.

N K [101]

202. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., July 9, 1866.

203. Ibid., W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., July 13, 1866.

N 648 204. Ibid., Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Ore., July 24, 1866. General George Crook started campaigning against the Oregon Snakes in the winter of 1866-1867 (Crook, Autobiography, pp. 142-159). The Army was active during the summer of 1866, however, before Crook arrived.

205. Perhaps Capt. Jesse Walker; see pp. 113-114, fns. 49, 120.

206. RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) p. 78.

N K 648 207. P. 115, fn. 133.

208. Motcunka'akEt was probably at the Agency with Applegate for the "talk" with the Snakes.

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

then, Ivan began to operate from the site his father had chosen. This site became "Yia-Nax," later "Yainax," and in 1870 was made a Sub-station with independent budget, on the Klamath Reservation. All that remains at the site now is an old barn, but in the 1870's it was a busy station, administering the affairs of the four separate groups of Indians on the Upper End of Klamath Reservation. For accounts of Yainax see NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent, Clarke, Pioneer Days, vol. 1, pp. 115, 118-123; McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 566; J. W. Perit Huntington to Ivan D. Applegate, Klamath, Ore., Nov. 18, 1868; ibid., J. W. Perit Huntington to N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868; ibid., Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, "Yia-Nax," Klamath Reservation, Ore., Dec. 31, 1869; ibid., Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, "Yia-Nax," Ore., Dec. 31, 1870; RCIA 1871 (CDS #1505) pp. 715-716; fn. 94, above.

225. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, Ore., Aug. 18, 1868.

226. Fn. 214.

227. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, Ore., Aug. 28, 1868.

228. Namely, with Motcunka'skEt's Sprague River Valley Klamath group. This is still another example of the Army's avoidance of the name "Yahooskin" for this group.

229. NA. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, DC, 34-M-1868. Thos. McGregor to A.A. General, District of the Lakes, Fort Klamath, Ore., Sept. 1, 1868. The chief mentioned had probably attended Gen. George Crook's peace proceedings at Camp Harney; see fn. 223.

230. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868.

231. For identification, and use of this creek, which appears as Fishhole Creek on modern maps such as the U. S, Geological Survey's State of Oregon, 1:500,000, see Klamath Boundary Commission, pp. 5, 15-19.

At the time Applegate was writing, Fishhole Creek was considered to be within the Reservation line, and Motcunka'skEt and his people were living on or near it, in the vicinity of the present town of Bly, Ore. (see fn. 55). At one point Fishhole Creek had

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

N K 226 been dammed, and in April and May small fish in great numbers, known as ishtish, were collected by the Klamaths, Modocs and N [103] Paiutes at this dam, the site of which was known as Ishtishweawax. When the Reservation boundary lines were run in 1871 and N K [166] Fishhole Creek fell outside the eastern line, the Walpapi and Sprague River Klamath apparently moved a few miles west, within the Reservation line and near the present town of Beatty, Ore.

233. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, Dec. 31, 1868.

N [101] 234. These four groups are mentioned repeatedly in published and unpublished sources relating to Klamath Reservation and Yainax, from 1869 onward. See, for example, p. 110.

000 235. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Camp Yia Nax [sic], Klamath, Ore., March 31, 1870.

235a. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ed. M. Canby to Governor of Oregon, Van Bremer's, Cal., Mar. 23, 1873; RCIA 1873 [CDS #1578] p. 692; NA. WDC. DC. 1195-D.C.-1873. L. S. Dyar to H. Clay Wood, Klamath Agency, Ore., June 2, 1873; Record, pp. 199-200.

236. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Camp Yia-Nax, Klamath Reservation, Ore., Dec. 31, 1870; ibid., Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Yia-Nax, Klamath Reservation, Ore., Oct. 31, 1871; fn. 105. LeLu was a Klamath.

N 648 237. In November, 1869, Tchâktot attended and spoke at a council Superintendent Meacham held with various Snake leaders at Camp Harney (NA., Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, DC, 25-0-1970, Encl. 1. A. B. Meacham to A. L. Dallas, Camp Harney, Oct. 29, 1869; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1870. M-1045. Report of Proceedings of Indian Council held at Camp Harney, Nov. 8, 1869; NA. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, DC, 25-0-1869. Elmer Otis to A.A.A. General, Portland, Ore., Nov. 22, 1869). In 1870 we learn that Meacham had had a small, chimneyless house built for Tchâktot, that in June Meacham gave Commissary Ivan D. Applegate permission to take Tchâktot with him on a twenty-day trip, and that in October Applegate proposed to employ Sam'l. Reed, a "Yahooskin," and Jake Chocktoot, a "Snake," at Yainax (WDC. DC. 0-31-Enc. 1-1870. Elmer Otis to A.A. General, DC., Camp Warner, Ore., June 8, 1870; Official Letters Received, A. B. Meacham to I. D. Applegate, Salem, June 15, 1870; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Ap-

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

K 101

243. Note that even Ivan Applegate here uses "Klamath Indians" instead of "Yahooskin Snakes" for the Klamath group under Barcley LeLu at Yainax.

N 101 621

244. The hundred and fifty Snakes would be Tcháktot's Walpapi Snakes, since it is expressly stated that Ocheo's people did not go. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Yainax, March 31, 1872.

245. NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Klamath Agency, July 21, 1873.

N 115 361

246. Namely, David and Roy Chocktoot, and Susie Chocktoot Archie (Kelly, Surprise Valley, p. 69, Northern Paiute Tales, pp. 364-365; Court of Claims E-344, pp. 406, 856); also Pete Paulina who was born at Silver Lake ca. 1866 or 1867 (Court of Claims E-344, p. 997).

247. Court of Claims E-344, pp. 406, 997.

248. My Friend the Indian, pp. 320, 326.

N 114 166

249. Kelly, Northern Paiute Tales, p. 364. Kelly would have been more accurate had she said that they came from the Silver-Summer lakes region in 1867 and 1868.

250. Kelly, Northern Paiute Tales, p. 364; Surprise Valley Paiute, pp. 205-206.

251. Court of Claims E-344, pp. 997-998.

ENVIRONMENT AND HISTORY

101 [177] THE Paiutes now living outside Burns, in southeastern Oregon, are remnants of the Wadadika (Wada Eaters) band of the northern Paiutes. Their former habitat was Harney Valley, centering around Malheur and Harney Lakes and extending north to the headwaters of the Silvies and Silver rivers and south to Catlow Valley. On the east the members of the band wandered as far as Drewsey and Riverside on the Malheur River and the eastern base of the Steenes Mountains, and on the west to the vicinity of Wagontire.[1] They did not [423 621] consider that they owned this land to the exclusion of all other people but in their seasonal wanderings they kept pretty much within these boundaries. They were surrounded by other Paiute bands who, like the Harney Valley Paiute, were named after their staple food. On the north were the Hunibuidika (Hunibui Eaters) and Patihichidika (Elk Eaters), on the northeast the Agaidika (Salmon Eaters), on the southeast the Tagudika (Tagu Eaters) (Jordan Valley Paiute), on the south the Guinidiba (?) (McDermitt Paiutes), on the southwest the Gididika (Ground Hog Eaters) (Surprise Valley Paiute) and Yapadika (Yapa Eaters), and on the northwest the Watihichidika (Juniper-Deer Eaters).[2]

132 The area formerly inhabited by the Wada Eaters is semi-arid, the rainfall being four to eighteen inches yearly. The mean temperature is forty-six degrees Fahrenheit but varies from one degree in the winter to one hundred degrees in the summer. The flora of the valley and foothills is that of the artemesia belt of the

[1] See map. For detailed account of their terrain see "Tribal Distributions in Eastern Oregon and Adjacent Regions" by Verne F. Ray and others (*American Anthropologist*, vol. 40, no. 3, July-September, 1938).

101 114 [2] This picture of the band distribution corresponds roughly with Omer Stewart's mapping in *The Northern Paiute Bands* (Anthropological Records of the University of California, vol. 2, no. 3, 1939), although he does not differentiate between Juniper-Deer Eaters and Hunibui Eaters and places the Salmon Eaters further east. He also includes the Elk Eaters with the Hunibui Eaters. Actually each one of these bands could be broken up into smaller units. There was no real political organization within the bands and the named groups merely designated people who tended to visit the same food gathering locales year after year. These people also generally wintered in camps clustered around the same vicinity. In the case of the Wada Eaters they wintered in the vicinity of Wadaba (Malheur Lake), which was the place where wada grew most plentifully. The Tsitsiadi, which Stewart mentions as a separate tribe, was the name given to a group of families who wintered east of the Steenes. They consisted of four brothers and their families. One brother married Old Winimucca's daughter, which probably explains the statement made by Stewart that Old Winimucca was their chief (see Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 134). Actually they were most closely affiliated with the Wada Eaters, but during the troubled times preceding and during the Bannock uprising they joined old Winimucca's faction.

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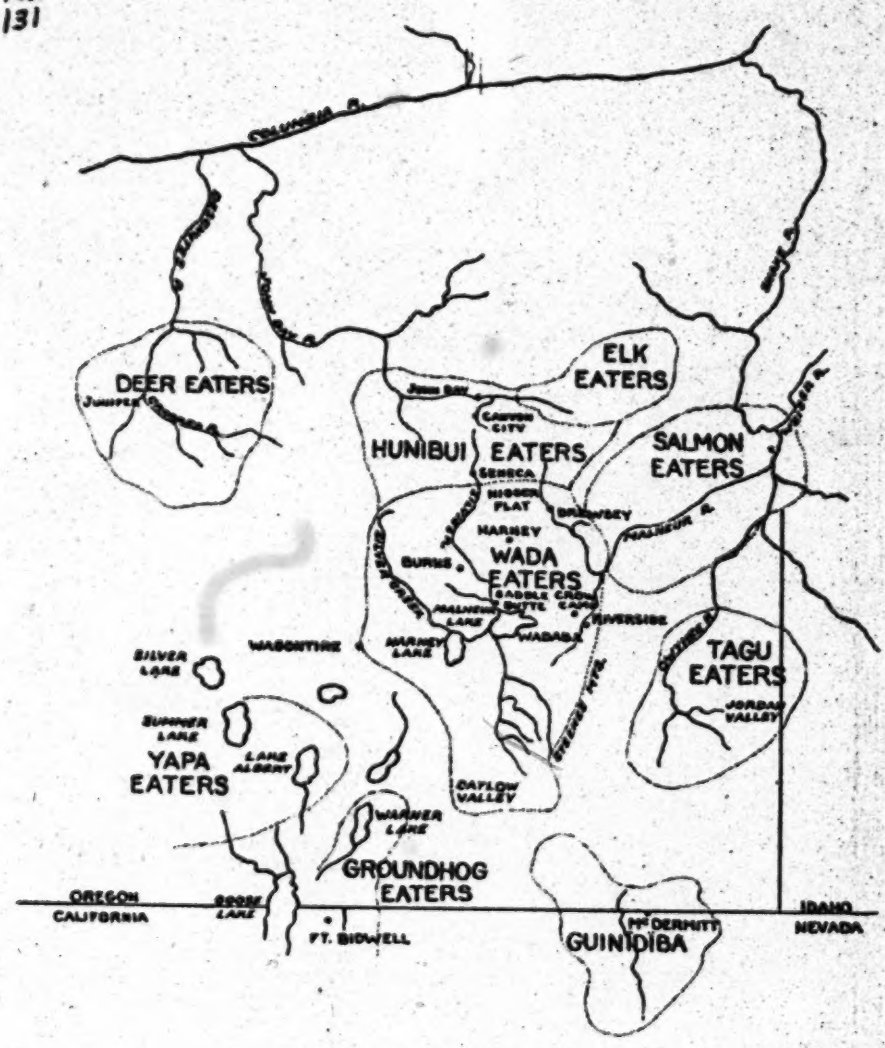

THE HARNEY VALLEY REGION

8:Park E-5 (1933-1935) 1937
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

PAVIOTSO POLYANDRY

101 114 595 171 584 595

In a recent issue of the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST[1] Dr Julian Steward reports the occurrence of polyandry among the Shoshoni groups of eastern Nevada and southern Idaho. Their immediate neighbors to the west, the Paviotso or Northern Paiute of Nevada, are said not to have followed the practice. However, unpublished field data gathered among the Paviotso on the reservations at Walker River and Pyramid Lake indicate that polyandrous marriages were arranged in the past.

In the few cases recorded polyandry was always fraternal and never involved

[1] American Anthropologist, Vol. 38, pp. 654–56, 1936.
[1] Vol. 38, pp. 561–64, 1936.

9:Stewart E-5 (1936) 1937
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

NORTHERN PAIUTE POLYANDRY

[114] 595

In his article *Shoshoni Polyandry*,[1] Dr Julian H. Steward said, "It is reasonably certain that it [polyandry] was not practiced by the Shoshoni of southern Nevada nor by the adjoining Northern Paiute." During the summer of 1936, while making a culture element survey of the Northern Paiute for the University of California, I recorded the presence of polyandry among five of the eleven Northern Paiute bands visited. The bands admitting polyandry are now located at Burns in Oregon;

101 595

[1] American Anthropologist, Vol. 38, pp. 561–64, 1936.

[2] Page 562.

[3] Pages 563, 564.

[4] Page 561.

9:Stewart E-5 (1936) 1937
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

and at Pyramid Lake (Nixon), McDermitt, Winnemucca, and Owyhee in Nevada. The bands at Winnemucca and Owyhee are on the border between Paiute and Shoshoni peoples and probably were influenced by the Shoshoni in regard to marriage, as we know they were influenced in regard to other traits.

The informants at Winnemucca gave no details concerning polyandry, but at Owyhee I obtained a fair account of a present-day case which involved both Shoshoni and Paiute. At this reservation a Shoshoni woman was married for a long time to a Shoshoni man. A few years ago a young Paiute man started living with them; all three slept in the same bed. However, as the first husband was quite senile, sexual relations were only between the woman and her second husband. I should state that at the present time both Paiute and Shoshoni live on the Owyhee Reservation. However, my informant assured me that polyandry was known among the Paiute when they lived in Oregon about a hundred miles to the northwest.

At Burns, Oregon, the strongly Catholic informants gave no information beyond the admission that "old time Paiute women sometimes had two husbands at once." While at McDermitt, I was told that "right now a woman here has two husbands who are not brothers." But the informant went on to say that polyandry would not have been allowed in the old days. Although a hundred and twenty-five difficult miles separate the two, the McDermitt Indians have had much contact with the Shoshoni since the establishment of the Owyhee Reservation in 1877.

The most detailed evidence of Northern Paiute polyandry was obtained at Pyramid Lake, which is located in about the center of this area. On this reservation is a woman who has lived with two men for many years. The men are not brothers, and, my informants said, they share equally sexual privileges and economic burdens. The children call both men father, and together the men work their land. Unfortunately, no details could be had concerning any pre-contact cases at Pyramid Lake, although both informants had heard that in the old days women sometimes had more than one husband at a time.

However, polyandry was not a common feature in Northern Paiute social life, and it was not institutionalized. Dr Steward's explanation of Shoshoni polyandry as a result of the relative lack of male jealousy and the "extraordinary simplicity of social structure which made the relationship of both sexes to plural marriage almost identical" could also apply to Northern Paiute polyandry.

OMER C. STEWART

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

II. Paviotso Shamanism

Introduction

The material on Paviotso shamanism presented in this section was collected in the course of ethnographic field investigations carried on by the writer over a period of three summers.[1] Before the coming of the whites, the Paviotso roamed over the semi-arid country of western Nevada and Honey Lake Valley in California. In the winter and spring they lived on the shores of the lakes of this region—Pyramid, Humboldt, Carson and Walker Lakes of Nevada, and Honey Lake in California. Probably at no time did the population exceed three thousand. At the present time there are nearly a thousand full-blooded and half-breed Paviotso living on the Pyramid Lake, Walker River, and Fallon reservations and in the small colonies at the Nevada towns of Reno, Yerington, and Lovelock.

The Paviotso or Northern Paiute living largely in western Nevada, belong to the Mono-Paviotso branch of Shoshonean-speaking peoples. Although dialectically and geographically very close to the Paiute of Surprise and Owens valleys, the Nevada bands form an ethnic unit quite distinct from their linguistic relatives in California.[2]

Under aboriginal conditions, the Paviotso were on friendly and intimate terms with the Northern Paiute of Surprise and Owens valleys in California, to whose language their own is closely related. The Washo, living immediately to the west, were peaceful but not friendly. Contacts with these people were infrequent. Constant warfare was carried on with the Pit River Indians of California, who were their traditional enemies. The northeastern Maidu were also unfriendly and often came into conflict with the Paviotso. Other people in northeastern California and southern

[1] A preliminary account based on the first summer's field work was published in 1934 (see Park, *Paviotso Shamanism*). Material obtained on subsequent trips added considerable data, modified some, and corroborated other aspects of the earlier statement. The present account of Paviotso practices, although offered as a more accurate picture, is but a summary. It is hoped that it will be possible in the near future to publish the detailed material as a part of a rounded account of Paviotso culture. This chapter can thus be regarded essentially as a skeletonized version of Paviotso practice and belief.

[2] Kelly, *Surprise Valley Paiute*, 70–73; Steward, *Owens Valley Paiute*, 235–237.

Notes on Some Paviotso Personalities and Material Culture

By Robert F. Heizer
Director, University of California Archaeological Survey
Berkeley

The following notes are intended mainly to serve as a minimum explanation and identification of the illustrations which appear at the end of the report. All of the pictures reproduced here combine interest with uniqueness, and refer to one single tribal and linguistic group of the state of Nevada, the Paviotso or Northern Paiute who in pre-Caucasian times held the western half of the state. None of these illustrations are recent, but date mainly from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Relevant literature (books, articles, and newspaper accounts) are cited to assist those persons who desire to find additional data on each subject referred to.

The source of the illustrations is as follows: Plate 1, *left*, and Plates 2 and 3 were all copied by me about 1930 from original prints in the possession of John T. Reid of Lovelock, Nevada. Permission to publish these was granted by him verbally at the time, and is more formally stated by him in a letter to me under date of January 27, 1941. Plates 4–9 come from the C. Hart Merriam collection deposited at the University of California in the Department of Anthropology (Berkeley), and date from over a half-century ago.

PLATE 1

Chief Winnemucca. The photograph at left was probably taken in Virginia City some time before 1882. A similar photograph of Winnemucca standing and dressed in the same military uniform can be so placed and dated. The drawing on the right is indicated as taken from a photograph by Noe and Lee, Virginia City. This illustration first appears in Dan DeQuille's *History of the Big Bonanza* (1876, fig. opp. p. 266), and a similar one is shown in Thompson and West's *History of Nevada* (1881, fig. opp. p. 144).

While it is sometimes claimed (e.g., Collins, 1953) that Captain Truckee was Winnemucca's father, this seems not to have been the case.[1] DeQuille (*op. cit.*, p. 271) states that Winnemucca had three or four wives, one of whom was a daughter of Truckee, and that this wife bore the famous daughter, Sarah. DeQuille (*op. cit.*, p. 265) writes that in 1875 Winnemucca at that time was about seventy years old, and his death may be dated in October, 1882. Taylor (1860) states that Winnemucca was said to be over seventy years of age in 1860. The Virginia Enterprise

[1] Captain Truckee, the famous guide, is first known in history when in October, 1844, at the Sink of the Humboldt, he became attached to the Stevens-Townsend-Murphy party as a guide. One of this party gave Truckee his name after a French-Canadian scout whom he knew, and this name was also applied to the river which flows out of Lake Tahoe and empties into Pyramid Lake. Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins (1883, p. 9) says Fremont gave Truckee this name. Truckee is said to have been a main chief of the Paviotso of western Nevada. Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins (*op. cit.*, chap. 1) corroborates the statements made above, and tells how Truckee, with a party of twelve men, went to California with Fremont and took part in the fighting against the Mexicans. This, in turn, is corroborated by Edwin Bryant (1849, pp. 227–28), who says that Truckee with his brother came to California with a party of emigrants and accompanied the California Battalion on its march from Monterey to the Ciudad de Los Angeles in 1846. Bryant saw Truckee and a leader chief in 1846 twenty-five miles above the Sink of the Humboldt. Truckee's death, possibly resulting from a tarantula bite, occurred in October, 1860, near Como, in the Palmyra District, Lyon County. He was buried on a ridge west of Como, on the outcropping of the old Goliah ledge, beneath the pinon trees. In his grave were placed a small bible given him by Fremont and other papers (Irons, 1933, pp. 95–96; DeQuille, 1876, p. 269). Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins (*op. cit.*, chap. IV) gives a quite different version of Truckee's death and burial.

PLATE 6

Paviotso of Pyramid Lake. Plate 6, *top*, was taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam at Pyramid Lake in July, 1903. None of the individuals is identified except for a note written on the back of the photograph which states that the old man, when he was a boy, accompanied Frémont and wears a medal given him by Frémont, and that three generations are represented. This indicates the old man and his wife, their married daughter and her children are shown.

Plate 6, *bottom*, was taken by Merriam at Pyramid Lake in July, 1903. It is the frame of a winter house. The peeled poles are probably cottonwood *(Populus)* and the circular hoop at the apex is an old iron wagon tire. Such a house when covered with a thatch of bundles of tule *(Scirpus)* tied to the framing would be dry and warm inside and well suited to winter use. Dimensions of the house shown here are estimated by me to be about 16 feet in diameter and 18 feet high.

PLATE 7

Paviotso summer camp at Pyramid Lake. Plate 7, *top*, taken in July, 1903, by Dr. C. Hart Merriam, shows a summer camp, probably for two or three families, at Pyramid Lake. The Paviotso designation for the Pyramid Lake band (subtribe) is *Kuyuitekade* meaning "*Kuyui* (*Chasmistes cujus*, a fish) eaters."[1] The scene here is intended to display the summer houses (built of green willow) which serve mainly to keep off the sun. In the doorway of the house stands a man wrapped in a large rabbitskin blanket which is ordinarily used in winter or to wrap up in while sleeping at night. In front of the second boy at the left is a twined conical burden basket which is used to transport food, firewood, and the like. Just to right of center is a young girl with a similar burden basket which is supported by a forehead strap or carrying band. The upright willow poles with a horizontal bar perhaps served for drying fish, though they are not in use at the time the picture was taken. A square 5-gallon kerosene can with the top cut out and a wire bale sits on two rocks forming a fireplace in the center of the picture. While various other metal containers are in evidence in the picture, the presence of the two burden baskets and the globular-bodied, narrow-necked water basketry canteen held in the left hand of the woman standing in the center amply attests to the fact that the Paviotso of this date still retained the art of making and practice of using basketry of the aboriginal type.

Plate 7, *bottom*, shows at closer range the same shelter which appears at the extreme right in the upper picture. The crude but effective construction of the willow shelter can be easily made out in this illustration.

PLATE 8

Pyramid Lake Paviotso summer shelters. Plate 8, *top*, is a very clear picture showing a rectangular, unroofed willow summer shelter. The butts of the cut willows have been stuck in the ground and are held upright by tying them to two horizontal courses of flexible willows inside and one course outside. In front of the shelter are coarse, twined burden baskets and shallow seed-winnowing trays. This photograph and the one which follows are part of the series taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam in 1903.

Plate 8, *bottom*. Two types of willow shelter are shown here. At the right is one closely similar to the unroofed shelter described above. To its left is a rectangular, flat-roofed shelter with one side open. The frame is of cut cottonwood posts with horizontal rafters either tied or nailed near the top of the uprights and then covered with cut willow branches.

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[1] Frémont first describes the salmon trout, the Indians and Pyramid Lake itself in 1844 on his second expedition. The various types of fish taken by the Indians in Humboldt and Pyramid Lakes are named and described by Loud and Harrington (1929, pp. 186-87).

13:Loud U-5 (1914) 1929 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

102
101
103
131
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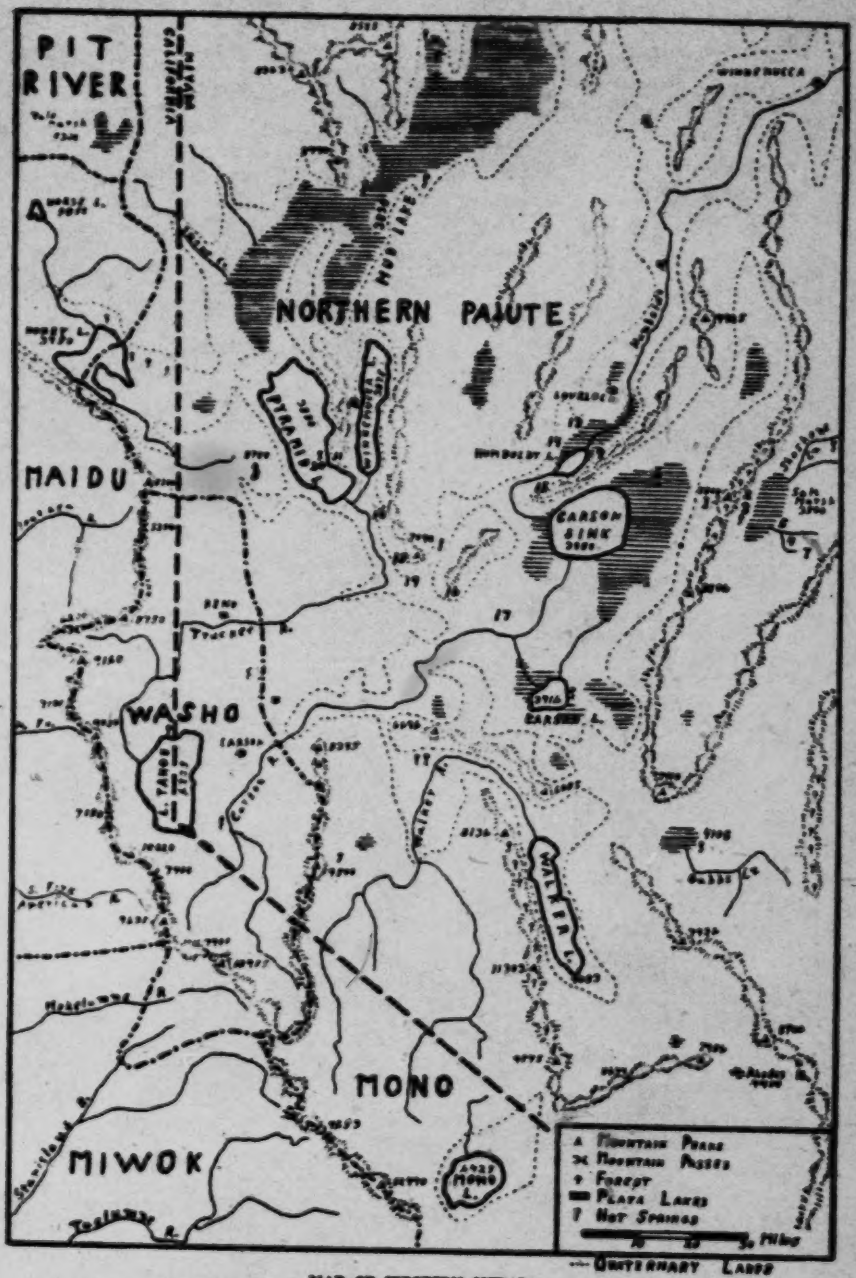

MAP OF WESTERN NEVADA

[End plate 68]

[End plates 31-67 not processed]

13:Loud U-5 (1914) 1929 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

APPENDIX 2. NOTES ON THE NORTHERN PAIUTE

BY

LLEWELLYN L. LOUD

131

The territory within the limits of Nevada now inhabited by the Northern Paiute includes the counties of Washoe, Humboldt, Pershing, Churchill, Lyon, Storey, Ormsby, Douglas, and Esmeralda, a total of 27,239 square miles, or one-third of the area of the state. Within these counties there was, in 1910, an Indian population of 3353, including 536 Washo and 60 Mono.[a] This would make 9 Indians per 100 square miles. How the present population compares with the population of primitive times is a matter for speculation.

162
[161]

NORTHERN PAIUTE BANDS

621

The Northern Paiute were divided into numerous bands of one hundred or more individuals each, so that individuals of one kin kept together in their seasonal travels in search of food. The Handbook of American Indians lists 61 of these bands,[a] but only about half of them are really Northern Paiute, the others being located in Mono or Shoshoni territory. Natches gave a list of bands, or "families" as he called them, as follows.

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621
101
131

sai'i, short form of sai-duka'a, "tule-eaters," a mythical people formerly living in various parts of Nevada. The Handbook gives what appears to be the same name, Saidyuka, as a band of eastern Oregon.

neme, "people" or "person," the Northern Paiute name for their own people from Walker lake, Nevada, to Snake river, Idaho. They call their language numa. Another name for themselves, at least those from Humboldt lake to Oregon, was agitsi'i.

[113]

[a] Indian Population United States and Alaska, 1910, pp. 33, 92. U. S. Census Bur., 1915.

[a] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Am. Ethn., pt. I, 1907; pt. II, 1912. Names of bands and data regarding them are found in articles as follows: Mono-Paviotso (including Snakes and Saidyuka of Oregon), Paviotso, Sawaguitva, Ilsanatinga, Toiwait, Kosipatuwiwaguiyu, Kuyuidika, Pamitoy, Laiduka-tuviwait, Omaga, Watsoquoeda, Winnemucca (The Giver), Warartika, Tonoyiet, Tompi, Wahi, Tupastikutteh, Tubiawapa, Hadanpoka, San Joaquin's Band, Odutoo, Petodneka, Tosarika, Postsituktikutch.

13:Loud U-5 (1914) 1929 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

sawa-kate, "sage-tip," name of Winnemucca mountain. Handbook gives Sawagativa, "large hill," as the band about Winnemucca.

idza'a-teaga-tekade, "Coyote-canyon-eaters." Name taken from a canyon near Unionville, where there are many squirrels. Equivalent of Itsaa-tiaga of the Handbook.

krpA-tekade, "squirrel-eaters" of Granite Spring valley.

toi-tekade, "cat-tail-eaters," the Indians of Stillwater slough. Natches knew of Indians living on a sand hill in the level plain near the stage station. Within half a mile of the slough there are many sand hills which were formerly inhabited, especially by the people who fought Wolf and Coyote (see page 161). The Handbook gives Toi-wait as a band of 400 living in 1870 about the lower sink of the Carson. kusi-pa'a-tepiwakayukU, "muddy-water-village," is a more correct orthography of Kosi-pa-tuwiwagaiyu, "muddy water place" given in the Handbook as a band, but more properly a village.

woitsi-tekade, "Wadsworth-eaters," the people living on Truckee river near Wadsworth, which has the Northern Paiute name of woitsi.

kuyui-tekade, "sucker-eaters" of Pyramid lake. The Handbook gives the same name Kuyui-dika as a band living near the site of Wadsworth and otherwise known as "Wunamuca's band."

nodi-tekade, "Mason valley-eaters," probably the same band as those called in the Handbook the "Pam-mi-toy, 'western tule eaters.' A Paviotso band formerly in Mason valley, W. Nev.; so called because a lake in this valley, now dry, formerly yielded tule." However, toy is the cat-tail, *Typha latifolia*, not tule.

agai-tekade, "trout-eaters," of Walker lake.

MANNER OF LIVELIHOOD

Gilbert Natches, the Northern Paiute informant, said that he was born to the north of Humboldt lake, at Toy. The name of the place is ô-tI-ga-du-tU, which is presumed to be site 6 of plate 1, although ô-tI-ga-du-tU is also the name for the gravel ridge opposite Toy (see sites 7 and 8 and dotted areas of plate 1). The band of which Natches was a member lived at this point and sometimes at the outlet of the lake. From these bases the band journeyed far and wide with the seasons.

Hunting.—Game was hunted more or less in all seasons. In early spring they went to the mountains to get ground squirrels. It was not

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

importance. Eating peyote, praying, rubbing sage leaves on the body, fanning cedar smoke over the body, touching the ritual equipment to the body, being sprinkled with "holy" water, and smoking special cigarettes are therapeutic practices in nearly all peyote ceremonies.

Although peyote is prayed to and eaten in privacy, it is primarily used ceremonially by a congregation of believers.

The Peyote Ceremony

Periodically, usually Saturday nights, the peyotists assemble before a tipi or house which has been previously prepared for the ritual. The leader prays at the entrance; then all follow him into the meeting place, passing to the left of the altar, and proceeding clockwise in a circle to places designated by the leader. (See fig. 1.)

The altar is a half-moon of sand or earth with a large peyote button placed on it, to which prayers are addressed during the night. Smoking especially prepared cigarettes, eating peyote, praying, and singing constitute the ceremony. The ritual paraphernalia consist of a cane, fan, drum, rattle, and whistle. All but the whistle are passed clockwise, and each man sings, then beats the drum for his neighbor. The ritual varies at midnight when water is blessed and passed around, and at dawn near the close when both water and food are brought, blessed, and eaten in turn by everyone.

The foregoing sketch of the history, general ideology, and typical ritual provides a basis for understanding the peyote cult of the western Great Basin.

LOCATION OF WASHO AND NORTHERN PAIUTE

The Washo Indians, a small, isolated, Hokan-speaking group, occupied the extreme western edge of the Great Basin and the Sierra Nevada around Lake Tahoe. Woodfords, Tallac, Truckee, and Loyalton, California, are in ancient Washo territory, as are Reno, Carson City, Minden, and Gardnerville, Nevada.[8]

The Northern Paiute, a more numerous population, included in the Mono-Bannock subdivision of the Shoshonean subfamily, adjoined the Washo on the north, east, and south, possessing the western part of the Great Basin from east-central Oregon south to Owens Valley in California.[9] The Northern Paiute included in this study occupied the central and southern parts of the territory: Pyramid Lake, Walker Lake, and Fallon reservations; Smith and Mason valleys, Nevada; and in California, Mono and Inyo counties. (See map 1.)

A few Shoshone from their territory east of the Northern Paiute and a few Miwok from the west have moved into Northern Paiute lands and with the Paiute have embraced the peyote religion.

FIELD METHODS

Ethnographers must usually content themselves with studying the Indian culture of the United States when its constituent traits exist only in the memories of the aged. Even in the investigation of contemporary institutions, such as the sun dance, the shaker cult, and the peyote cult, observations are usually made years after patterns have become established; by that time individuals and circumstances relative to their introduction are already partly forgotten. That five or six years

[8] See Siskin, 1938; Lowie, 1939; and Stewart, 1939.

[9] See Stewart, 1939, and Steward, 1933, for exact limits of Northern Paiute area. Paviotso, sometimes used as synonymous to Northern Paiute, usually includes only those Paiute who live in the vicinity of Pyramid and Walker lakes, and will be used only when quoting other ethnographers.

[text continues on p. 68]

15: Riddell E-5 (ca. 1948-1954) 1960 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Wadátkuht

THE WADÁTKUHT

The Honey Lake Paiute, or Wadátkuht ("Wada eaters", after the seed of Suaeda depressa), as they call themselves, are an independent band of Northern Paiute living entirely in California. This band had its own chiefs; the last two were Kukwhi (Dick Wright) and Numunana ("Indian man"), also known as Joaquin. These men were contemporaries and apparently served jointly as headmen. Several earlier chiefs are listed by Stewart (1939, p. 138) and include No-jo-mad, Hozi-a and Adavugaya. Stewart equates Hozi-a with Ochio, the Kidütoka chief of Surprise Valley to the north of the Wadátkuht territory. Captain Dick, according to Stewart (ibid.), might be a Kamö man whose group immediately joins the Wadátkuht to the north and east. This Captain Dick is probably not to be confused with Dick Wright the Wadátkuht headman.

101

622

The Wadátkuht actually are composed of two groups of closely related people. The main group lived in Honey Lake Valley and the secondary group lived in Secret Valley just north of Honey Lake. Those living in Secret Valley additionally utilized the eastern half of Madeline Plains north of Secret Valley. Apparently they shared it with the Kamötkuht ("Jackrabbit eaters") with whom they were closely related and affiliated. A more detailed discussion of this joint use is presented in a section on "Boundaries and Population".

101

Not only were the Wadátkuht closely related to the Kamötkuht, but they were close relatives of the Kuyuitkuht of Pyramid Lake, Nevada. Except for living in different areas and having their own headmen the Wadátkuht and Kuyuitkuht might well be considered a single group. Genetic relationship to the Northeastern Maidu, Washo, Atsugewi, and Achomawi people also was considerable due to the fact that men often stole women (for wives) from, or lost women to these neighboring groups. Social intercourse between the Maidu and the Washo on the one hand, and the Wadátkuht on the other seems to have been of a much more friendly and cooperative nature than between the Wadátkuht and the Pit River people. Despite the apparently considerable foreign genetic inheritance of the Wadátkuht, not to mention certain cultural additions, the Wadátkuht strictly considered themselves as Paiute and maintained their strongest affiliations with their Paiute relatives. Linguistically there seems to be little difference between the Wadátkuht and the Kuyuitkuht, except possibly for the preferential use of occasional words.

[583]

[648]

[197]

Wadatkuht

people. The first group that they saw was composed of soldiers (sic), of whom they were afraid. [75]

At the end of 1843 and the beginning of 1844 Fremont made a reconnaissance trip from Oregon through Nevada and became the first recorded white man to visit Pyramid Lake (Fremont, 1846). His description of the region and the people is relatively detailed and his visit was surely known to the Honey Lake people since they are closely related neighbors of the Pyramid Lake Paiute. [101]

It was not until 1850, however, that there is any record of actual penetration of Honey Lake Valley by Europeans. In this year Peter Lassen made two trips to this large lake lying just east of the Sierra Nevada in what is now northeastern California. On his second trip he was accompanied by J. Goldsborough Bruff and a group of other men. Bruff was a trained topographer with a curiosity, an appreciation of what he observed and a keen ability for describing his experiences. It is unfortunate that on his trip to Honey Lake he did not have his topographic instruments with him and thus able to make accurate day-by-day locations. Because of the lack of proper instruments it is scarcely possible to trace the party's route with accuracy. His verbal descriptions and his pen and pencil sketches made on the trip, however, are of considerable historical value and interest.

Read and Gaines (1949) have attempted a reconstruction of Bruff's route to Honey Lake but it is not entirely satisfactory. As the party neared Honey Lake, however, their position is more readily apparent. They originally left Lassen's ranch on Deer Creek near its junction with the Sacramento River and proceeded up the creek to its headwaters. They then rode east to the headwaters of the Feather River on the Lassen Trail. They followed this trail north approximately to a point where it meets the Pit River and then apparently branched off toward the north and east to cross Big Valley in Achomawi territory. From Big Valley they seem to have gone to the general area of the present town of Alturas, Modoc County, and then proceeded in a south and east direction, eventually reaching Honey Lake. The "hieroglyphic defile" of which he speaks is a section of the upper reaches of Smoke Creek, just south of Observation Peak and east of Shinn Peak, between Wagontree and Sagebrush Springs. All along the way they saw abundant evidence of Indians, and occasionally the Indians themselves. However, they were generally hostile and Bruff nearly lost his life while exploring a volcanic cone. [114]

Wadátkuht

39. Wamutsakia (Wapi, "Juniper"; Mutsakian°, "Point"). This feature, located in T33N/R15E, is a spur, or northern extension of Pinaktud (Item 37 above). 133 103

40. Toka kudzu' ni' ("Black Peak"). This is the name for Observation Peak, a mountain where the Paiute hunted deer but not antelope. The Pit River people did not come here to hunt. [224]

41. Yapúshai katud ("Sitting-on-the-back Mountain"). Dill Butte located about five miles east of Ravendale on the valley floor was given this name because it is sitting alone on the flat desert.

42. Nada sudu (Meaning not known). Fox Spring at the north base of Observation Peak has this Paiute name. It was not possible to visit this feature with the informant, but it is said to be located west of Horn's ranch and that two white men, George and Tip Marr lived at this spring at one time.

43. Kusai banú muhd ("Muddy Lake"). This is the name given Horse Lake and the informant indicated that many tules grew around the shores of this body of shallow water. The Wadátkuht village of ᵇTavi wamud was located on the north end of the lake. [137] [361]

44. Wada banú muhd ("Wada Lake"; wada is the name for Suaeda depressa). Honey Lake has this name, apparently from the fact that certain areas about the lake support a considerable growth of this plant from which the Wadátkuht were named. The Maidu name for this lake is T'Tám mom doniha. [137] [101]

45. Kukwaᵖta ("Wind Hole"). A gap in the Sierra directly opposite (southwest) Herlong Junction on Highway 395 (Plate 3c) was given this name because a person could make the wind blow through it if he knew the right words. This feature is located in T26N/R15E. [789]

46. Huní pui (The name for an unspecified edible root). This is the name for an unspecified place at Eagle Lake where the Huni pui root was dug. The Wadátkuht informants could give no name for Eagle Lake and did not regard the lake as being inside their territory despite the fact that it was visited for the purposes of hunting and gathering. [262]

47. Paguts tuduh tawágan ("Buffalo Wallow"). This term refers to a depression dug by buffalo living in the Honey [136]

Wadátkuht

identification of the various plants. 222

In the spring suckers were caught in numbers as they swam up Long Valley Creek to spawn. These fish were caught in nets, often by torchlight at night. After being caught the fish were laid out on the surrounding sagebrush and allowed to dry in the sun. During the spring the eggs of such birds as geese, ducks, pelicans, quail and others were gathered and eaten. The favorite place to collect waterfowl eggs was in the region where Susan River flows into Honey Lake. At about the time that the suckers were running in Long Valley Creek the Wadátkuht would gather padus[a] (a plant said to be similar to wild chive), a'wuhk'koni' ("wild onion") and kwidu'pa' (a small round, black root" wherever they occurred. The tops of padus[a], which had a white blossom and looked like chives, were eaten. A favorite place for this plant to grow was under willows along streams. [226] [251] [262]

It was not until summer, however, that the products of the land became more plentiful after the cold winter months. The following are summer products. The small yellow seeds of the guha (Mentzelia sp.) were beaten into a conical burden basket with a seed beater when the seeds became ripe. The favorite place for gathering these small seeds was on the southern exposure of Bald Mountain (Guha kaive). These seeds, however, were gathered wherever else they grew abundantly. Kitty Joaquin told of gathering five alfalfa seed bags full of unwinnowed guha seeds from the south slopes of Bald Mountain. [252]

After collecting guha it was time to gather atsá seeds, which grew best on Gibson Mountain (the hill behind the Gibson ranch) east of Litchfield. Gibson Mountain is a portion of Shaffer Peak (called Atsá kaduhk[w]). The seeds of atsá are rusty red in color and are about the same size as the guha seeds. Atsá is probably tansymustard (Sophia sp.)

Wada (Suaeda depressa) seeds (from which this Paiute group got its name) were gathered after atsá had been harvested. Wada was most abundant in the vicinity of Amadee on the east side of Honey Lake. These small black seeds are about the size of guha seeds and were stored in smoke-tanned buckskin bags made of two hides sewn together. [101] [251] [415]

The atsá, the guha and the wada seeds were gathered in the same manner and were prepared similarly. The seeds were